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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. IX.

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LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

Demy 8vo. Vol. I. in Two Parts. Vols. IV.-X. are illustrated.

Father Mann starts his *magnum opus* at the Pontificate of St. Gregory the Great. The subject-matter of the volumes are: I.—The Popes under the Lombard Rule; II. and III.—The Popes during the Carolingian Empire; IV. and V.—The Popes in the Days of Feudal Anarchy; VI. to VIII.—The Popes of the Gregorian Renaissance; IX. and X.—The Popes from Innocent II. to Innocent III.

Among many Press comments upon this enterprise, we quote the following:—"Fr. Mann's erudition is unquestionable, and his reading is as wide as it is deep."—*The Times.* "Shows fully the dispassionate reasoning of an impartial critic, and the clear, lucid style of a well-read scholar."—*Daily Telegraph.* "The pictures are well drawn, the political and ecclesiastical situations well described, the lights and shadows ably defined, and the reading made easy and pleasant."—*Dublin Review.*

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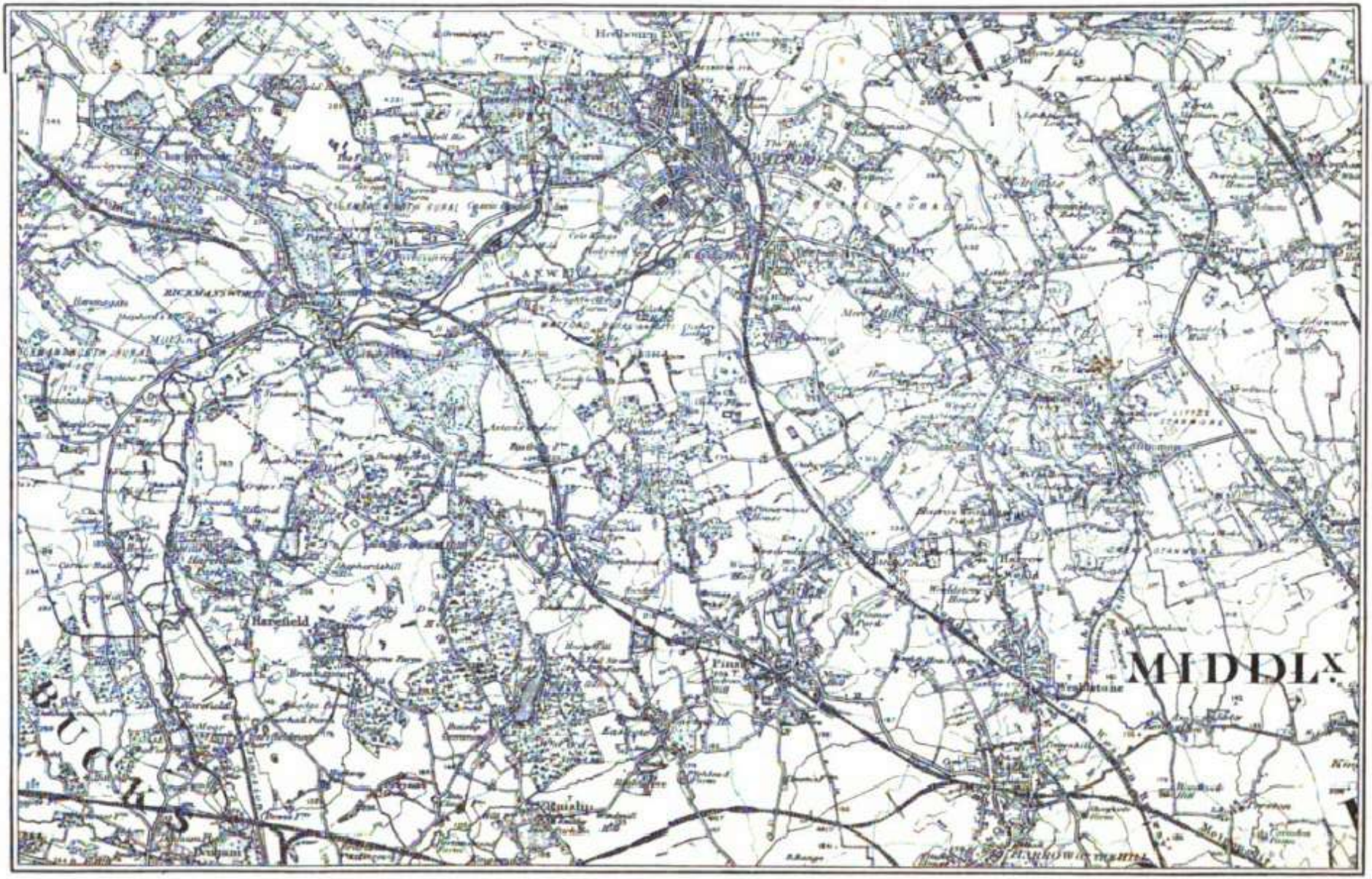

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THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D.* 747-752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289)

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES AT THE HEIGHT OF THEIR TEMPORAL INFLUENCE

INNOCENT II. TO BLESSED BENEDICT XI.

1130-1305

VOL. IX.—1130-1159

B. HERDER

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To

THE RIGHT REVEREND

MGR. JOSEPH FELTEN, D.D.

TO WHOSE INSPIRING WORDS THESE BIOGRAPHIES ARE DUE

THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

AS A MARK OF

AFFECTIONATE ESTEEM

BY HIS

OLD PUPIL

THE AUTHOR

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A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta . .	=	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Labbe	=	*Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., *Anastasius*, or the *Book of the Popes*	=	*Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz .	=	*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or *Epistolæ* (M. G. Epp.) or *Poetæ* (M. G. PP.).
P. G.	=	*Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L.	=	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS. . . .	=	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
R. F. SS. . . .	=	*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, ed. Bouquet and others, Paris, 1738 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book	=	The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

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ERRATA IN PRECEDING VOLUMES.

Vol. IV.

In the map at the beginning delete "Headquarters of the Hungarians" below St. Stephen in Piscinula.

On page 340 it is stated that the figure of Boniface VII. is to be found among the papal mosaics in St. Paul's outside-the-walls. It is not. *Cf.* Barbier de Montault, *Description de la basilique de S. Paul*, p. 56.

Vol. V.

Relying upon E. Horn, *Saint Étienne*, pp. 160–1, I identified the Hungarian Church in Rome with that of St. Stephen *in Piscina* (p. 84). But it should have been identified with the Church of St. Stephen Minor which once stood near St. Peter's. It was destroyed by Pius VI. to make room for the new sacristy for St. Peter's. Moreover, contrary to what is stated on the same page, there was not a residential quarter of the Hungarians on the Cœlian Hill. *Cf.* my own note 1 on p. 84, and Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, pp. 747–8; De Waal, *I luoghi pii sul territorio Vaticano*, 19–20; and Ehrle, *Ricerche su alcune antiche chiese del Borgo di S. Pietro*, p. 6, Rome, 1907.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The flower of the Gregorian Renaissance, 1130–1305.

ALTHOUGH, with the pontificate of Honorius II., we closed that section of papal history which we designated "The Gregorian Renaissance," it must not be supposed that the advance made during that epoch in religion and in politics and in matters social and artistic came to a close with the death of that Pontiff (1130). The general march of civilisation inaugurated or encouraged by the great master Hildebrand, and by the Popes who influenced him or were more or less directly influenced by him, not only did not end with Pope Honorius, but reached its zenith after he had passed away. During the century and three-quarters (1130–1305) when the Popes exercised most influence in the temporal affairs of Europe, the seeds of progress sown by St. Leo IX., by the great men of his age and by their successors, came to full maturity. The hundred and seventy-five years which elapsed between the death of Honorius II. and the day when Clement V. transferred the seat of the Papacy from Rome on the Tiber to Avignon on the Rhone, and began that period so fatal to the Papacy known as the Babylonian Captivity, may be called the Flower of the Gregorian Renaissance. Indeed, to many minds the thirteenth century appears to be the Flower of all the Ages, the Heroic Hour of man's life on earth, the Greatest of all the Centuries.[1]

[1] *Cf. The Thirteenth greatest of Centuries*, by J. J. Walsh, New York, 1907, a book from which we have freely drawn in connection with this chapter.

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At any rate, if to the thirteenth century be added those years of the twelfth century during which also papal temporal power was paramount, it cannot well be doubted that it is impossible to name another corresponding period when Europe made such rapid and sure strides along the paths of science and art, of theory and practice, and of pure thought and practical skill. The years which saw the Popes at the height of their temporal sway were vigorous years. They were the heyday of Christendom; the days when at least the imagination and the physical strength of Europe were at their best. They were the blithe and jocund years when the bloom of beauty is still to be seen in the face and form; when the reason is strong enough to put a curb on the wild vagaries of the imagination, but not dominant enough to crush its glorious exuberance; and when the hand has still all its suppleness and cunning, and the eye has not lost its quickness of perception and its delicacy of appreciation.

And now, of such as are not carried to belief by words we would ask for assent to our proposition "for the very works' sake."

Theology and philosophy.

As the noblest study of every man is not his fellow-man but his Maker, our survey of the works accomplished by the men of the epoch under consideration may well begin with those which had direct reference to God. Did the men of this age, we may ask, do anything great for the glory of the Almighty either in the order of mind or in the order of matter?

As in the life of man himself the different periods of his existence are distinguished by the development of different faculties—quickness of apprehension, vigour of reasoning, maturity of judgment—so it would seem to be with the life of the whole human race. The age in which we live will no doubt ever be distinguished as the age of the most

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rapid application of the truths of physical science to the necessities, luxuries, and amusements of life. But the period during which the Popes exercised the greatest amount of temporal influence will ever stand out as the period when men made the most systematic study of the things of God, and showed the practical results of that abstract contemplation of the Eternal in the works which they left behind them—in the books which they wrote about their Creator, in the buildings which they erected and adorned wherein to worship Him, in the places which they founded wherein to study Him, and in the institutions which they founded whereby they might spread and improve the love of Him in his rational creatures, or lessen the trials and sufferings of those dear to Him.

The guides to the high thought of this age in philosophy and theology were the Schoolmen, those exact and truly advanced thinkers whom until comparatively recently it used, especially in this country, to be the fashion to decry, but who are now recognised by all the learned world to have reached a height of pure thought which has never been surpassed.[1] Following especially the guidance of Peter the Lombard, the Master of the Sentences (†1164),[2] a student of Abelard, but not a sharer of his heterodox teachings, and helped by a largely increased acquaintance

[1] "This book" (*The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages*, London, 1881), writes its author, Mr. W. J. Townsend, "humbly seeks to aid in the reversal of the general verdict of condemnation passed on the Schoolmen, and to offer some evidence that as men they were devout, liberal, and earnest; that as writers and thinkers they were learned, subtle, penetrating, and logical; and that as contributors to the philosophical and theological thought of Christendom they aided enormously the cause of human progress" (p. 13). Mr. Townsend had previously quoted a number of great modern authors who had given expression to similar views.

[2] So called from his famous book, *Quatuor libri Sententiarum*.

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with Aristotle,[1] a succession of powerful thinkers and able teachers cast into logical sequence the whole body of Christian doctrine, and formed a philosophical system to lead up to revealed truth, and then to develop that truth itself. This stupendous constructive task was accomplished for the most part in the thirteenth century, justly known as the Golden Age of Scholasticism.

The leader of this intellectual *Sacred Band* was the *Angelic Doctor*, the Dominican, St. Thomas Aquinas. Dying in 1274, whilst on his way to the council of Lyons, to which he had been specially summoned by Gregory X., he left behind him, in his *Summa Theologiæ*, a work which, even in the very dark days of English historical ignorance, was found worthy of the closest study by David Hume,[2] and which authors who do not accept his conclusions now regard "as a monument of human learning, ingenuity, industry, and piety which has never been surpassed by any writer in Christendom."[3]

The Angelic Doctor was supported, the thirteenth century

[1] By the beginning of the thirteenth century the entire works of Aristotle, his ethical, physical, and metaphysical treatises, were translated into Latin, many of them having been translated for the first time towards the close of the preceding century from the Arabic. As the thirteenth century advanced, more accurate versions were made from the original Greek. This translation from the Greek "seems to have been undertaken at the command of Pope Urban IV. (1261–5), who had renewed the former prohibitions put upon the use of Aristotle at the Paris University, in the older, shall we say, Averroistic (Arabic) versions."—Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, ii. 391, London, 1911.

[2] *Cf. Dublin Review*, i. p. 435.

[3] Townsend, *l.c.*, p. 205. *Cf.* Taylor, *l.c.*, ii. p. 433 ff., and especially the monumental, if somewhat diffuse, work of R. B. Vaughan, *Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin*, London, 1872. His *Summa contra Gentiles* has already been translated into English (J. Rickaby, London, 1905), and the Dominican Fathers have begun the great work of translating his *Summa Theologiæ*. The praise given to the saint by Leo XIII. has resulted in a great increase of the study of his works and in the output of splendid new editions of them.

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was glorified, and subsequent ages were enlightened by a galaxy of other doctors—by the *Universal Doctor*, Albertus Magnus (†1280);[1] by the English *Irrefragable Doctor*, Alexander of Hales (†1245); by the *Subtle Doctor*, Duns Scotus (†1308); and by the *Seraphic Doctor*, St. Bonaventure (†1274), who "passed away probably more esteemed and loved than any man of his generation."[2] With these great men, masters, for the most part, of the deductive sciences, we must associate one whose life was almost synchronous with the thirteenth century (*c.* 1210–*c.* 1294), viz., the Franciscan friar Roger Bacon,[3] one of the most distinguished of the early teachers of the value of induction, and one whose genius is accounted by many as superior to that of his namesake Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. To the Franciscan Roger Bacon we must add the *Illuminated Doctor*, the Spaniard, Raymond Lull, Franciscan tertiary, mystic, missionary, and martyr (1232–1315), most voluminous writer on theology, philosophy, and science, and the inspirer of Leibnitz—in many ways the most fascinating character of a fascinating century.[4] Contemporary at least with the youth of all these great champions of orthodoxy was Peter Abelard (†1142), who, if he has left behind him smaller literary monuments than those of these Christian giants, and a name not to be compared with theirs, was still perhaps in some way the cause of their greatness. His intellectual pugnacity and restlessness fired

[1] See his *life*, *Albert the Great*, by Sighart, Eng. trans., London, 1876.

[2] Townsend, p. 189.

[3] On the dates of Roger's birth, etc., see Ch. Jourdain in his *Excursions histor. à travers le Moyen Age*, p. 131 ff., Paris, 1888.

[4] W. T. A. Barber (*Raymond Lull*, London, 1903) has written a sympathetic life of R. L., but it does not appear to be so good or so accurate as *Le bienheureux R. Lulle*, by M. André, Paris, 1900. It is the latter (p. 67) who says: "que Leibniz n'ait pas dédaigné la lecture de R. Lulle, et qu'il en ait tiré bon parti."

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the minds of men with a zeal for dissecting every proposition that was brought before them. He was one of the greatest stimulators of keen and scientific thought, not merely of his own age, but of many ages. Both theology and what was then regarded as its handmaid, philosophy, owe a great debt to the beloved of Heloise.

But the Scholastics did more than influence for all succeeding time the philosophic thought of the Church. With their "conclusive arguments against the Manichees" they contributed not a little to save European morals. The heresies which permeated the continent of Europe and especially the south of France, particularly during the latter half of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth, were for the most part of a Manichæan type. To hopelessly irrational theories with regard to the Deity and the origin of evil they joined doctrines with regard to marriage which led either to wild debauchery or, perhaps what was more usual, and certainly was more harmful, to practices which, had they been suffered to spread, would have put an end to the race. Now the spread of these fatal doctrines was stopped not merely by the sword, but by the philosophy of the Scholastics. That "combination of Greek sanity and Christian spiritualism" known as Scholasticism not only materially helped to destroy "Albigensianism," but rendered a subsequent diffusion of such extravagances as that term included almost impossible. The great heresies of more recent times were "less fundamental, less dangerous to the idea of God and of Christian morals."[1]

Strange as it may seem to many, the Scholastics also exercised a profound influence upon language. Not a few,

[1] I owe this paragraph to the suggestion and words of my friend Mr. F. F. Urquhart, to whom I am also indebted for other valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume for the press.

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in thinking of the language of the Scholastics, set it down as a jargon in very indifferent Latin. But whatever else it was, it assuredly was a highly technical and very exact language, and it is in this direction that it has influenced modern language. Professor Saintsbury is of opinion that it cannot be denied that the Scholastics exerted at least "a far-reaching influence in mere language, in mere system of arrangement and expression. . . . If at the outset of the career of modern language," he continues, "men had thought with the looseness of modern thought, had indulged in the haphazard slovenliness of modern logic, had popularised theology and vulgarised rhetoric, as we have seen both popularised and vulgarised since, we should indeed have been in evil case." From this evil case the precise scientific accuracy of the language of the *Schools* has saved us.

Mysticism. The abbey of St. Victor.

But while all the thinkers of this age of thinking knew that the nature and attributes of God should be studied in order to be both known and loved, some would have had them studied more to enkindle love of Him than to store up knowledge regarding Him, and indeed would have had them studied more by His love and for His love than by mere logic for the acquisition of abstract truths even about Him. In the Parisian abbey of St. Victor, of which one of the early Scholastic teachers, William of Champeaux, was the first abbot (†1121), there succeeded one another a number of abbots as famous for their learning as for their piety. Following the example of William, and reacting against that glorification of unaided reason of which Abelard was the hero, they investigated the nature of man's union with his Maker by love; they studied the paths that best lead to Him; they raised mysticism to a science. "Love that you may understand," was their motto. And while abbots Hugh of St. Victor (†1141) and Richard

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of St. Victor (†1173) were engaged in establishing the principles of mysticism in learned works, Adam of St. Victor (†1192) gave them utterance in imperishable hymns.[1]

Outside the famous abbey, the principles of mysticism were put into practice and propagated by the *Mellifluous Doctor*, St. Bernard, and by the nuns St Hildegard of Bingen (†1179) and Elizabeth of Schoenau (†1165), of whom a contemporary annalist wrote: "In these days God made manifest His power through the frail sex, in the two maidens Hildegard and Elizabeth, whom He filled with a prophetic spirit, making many kinds of visions apparent to them through His messages, which are to be seen in writing."[2] To these we must add three names which "have given lasting fame" to the convent of Helfta, near Eisleben, in Saxony—the two Mechthilds, Mechthild the Beguine of Magdeburg († *c.* 1280), and Mechthild of Hackeborn († *c.* 1300), and Gertrude, known as Gertrude the Great (†1311).[3] They brought a European reputation to their convent home, not only by their lives, but also by their writings. "All the qualities," writes a modern elegant lady writer whose want of the Catholic faith does not blind her to the charm of so many nuns, "which make early mysticism attractive—moral elevation, impassioned fervour, intense realism, and an almost boundless imagination—are here found reflected in the writings of

[1] *Cf.* Gautier, *Œuvres poét. d'A. de St. Vict.*, 1858; English translation by D. S. Wrangham, 1881. Trench regards him as "the foremost among the sacred Latin poets of the Middle Ages." *Cf. Hist. of Rom. Lit.*, ed. Thompson, 1852.

[2] *Annal. Palidenses*, an. 1158, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 90, cited by Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 257.

[3] On Mechthild of Magdeburg, see Mrs. A. Kemp-Welch, *Of Six Mediæval Women*, London, 1913. A *life* of *St. Gertrude the Great* has just been published by Sands of London.

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The Cloister of St. John Lateran. (Twelfth century.)

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three women who were inmates of the same convent and worked and wrote contemporaneously."[1]

Literature in the twelfth century. Classical studies.

Not all the world, however, devoted themselves principally to the study of theology and philosophy. The liberal arts were not neglected, if only because, as many pious people then said, if they were not studied, the sacred Scriptures themselves could not be thoroughly understood. In fact, the twelfth century was the literary period of the Middle Ages. In that century the classical studies of the epoch, begun in the schools of France in the preceding century, reached their zenith;[2] and, stimulated by the discovery of classical documents, showed themselves a resplendent dawn of the revival of classical studies which took place in the fifteenth century.[3] Under such "lovers of letters" as Abelard, wrote our own John of Salisbury, whose writings bear eloquent witness to the classical revival of his times, "the arts have come back to us, and, as though their sentence of banishment had been reversed, they have, after their exile, re-obtained their former honour and favour."[4] The progress of classical studies was, however, for the time being, stopped before the close of the twelfth century by an absorbing zeal for the study of law, which was greatly fostered by the needs of a very

[1] Eckenstein, p. 328 f. *Cf.* Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, I. ch. xix., "The Visions of Ascetic Women." These authors are cited for their facts, and not for their explanations of the phenomena which they record. The supernatural does not seem to appeal to them.

[2] Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, ii. 117, 168.

[3] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, i. 61; Pater, *The Renaissance*, pp. 1 and 9, London, 1888.

[4] *Metalog.*, i. 5. *Cf.* Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 586, and E. Boutaric, *Vincent de Beauvais et la connaissance de l'antiquité classique au 13e siècle*, ap. *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, 1875, p. 1 ff. In his zeal for the classics, Boutaric, however, does not do justice to the great Scholastics of the thirteenth century. "On peut affirmer qu'à la fin du xie siècle et au siècle suivant il y eut une haute culture intellectuelle" (p. 9).

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litigious and law-making age, and by the attention which was a little later everywhere given to theology and philosophy.

Physical science.

But the days in which the temporal influence of the Popes was greatest in Europe were not remarkable merely for striking advances in theology, philosophy, and mysticism, and for a revival of classical studies. Physical science, law, history, the study of languages and of literature and art in all their branches, also made conspicuous progress. "Modern science," says Canon Rashdall,[1] "has its roots in the intellectual revival of the twelfth century, as much as modern culture and modern learning and modern philosophy." Experimental science in general was, under men like Albertus Magnus[2] and Friar Bacon, much practised in the thirteenth century. In Paris the theory and practice of medicine was then raised to a high pitch by Gilles de Corbeil (†*c.* 1224), whose extraordinary ability was celebrated by a contemporary namesake in verse,[3] and whose pre-eminent position in the medical world was extolled by a distinguished physician of the seventeenth century, Dr. G. Naudé (†1653), who eagerly looked forward to the day when a genius would arise to do justice to his medical and to his literary worth, both so superior to the age in which he lived.[4] In Italy, in particular, the practical side of medicine received no little attention, especially at the hands of William of Saliceto (†1276) and

[1] *The Universities*, i. 242. "The assertion is undeniable that with the logical and metaphysical studies of that age, physics now assume an importance they had not before." So writes Mr. Brewer, p. xliv, in his preface to the *Monumenta Franciscana*, R. S.

[2] He wrote over fifteen treatises on science subjects.

[3] "Celeberrimus arte medendi," Gilles de Paris, ap. Vieillard, *Gilles de Corbeil*, p. 17 f. *Cf.* p. 3 f., Paris, 1909.

[4] Ap. *ib.*, p. 15 f. Naudé calls him "te Philippi-Augusti a consiliis valetudinis principem . . . . posteris omnibus, omnibus saeculis colendum."

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his great pupil, the cleric Lanfranc of Milan, who, we know, was teaching at Paris in 1295. Both these men are particularly praised by the most distinguished modern physicians for their clear realisation of "the danger of separating surgery from medicine," and for their splendid practical work. Lanfranc is credited with having written "one of the classics of mediæval surgery."[1] It was also in that country during this period that a form of anæsthesia appears to have been first introduced by Ugo da Lucca,[2] and the first public health act was passed.[3] It is to the same country, moreover, that we owe the introduction of algebra. Leonardo, a merchant of Pisa, who had travelled in Africa and in the East, published his treatise on the subject in 1202. Nor was it long before that date that our decimal system of numerals was derived from the Arabs, and that the secret paths of the sea began to be explored by the aid of the mariner's compass.[4] Alfonso X., *el Sabio*, who created Castilian prose, founded the first scientific society,[5] and the inductive sciences were in the thirteenth century particularly honoured when, in 1276, a most ardent devotee of medicine, Peter of Portugal, was raised to the papal throne as John (XX.) XXI.[6]

[1] See the remarks of Professor Allbutt of Cambridge (1904), quoted by Walsh, *The Thirteenth greatest of Centuries*, p. 83 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Walsh, *The Popes and Science*, p. 9. *Cf.* pp. 14, 248; New York, 1908. See also Gaspary, *Italian Literature*, p. 99.

[3] Walsh, *John XXI.*, p. 388, ap. *Eccles. Review*, Philadelphia, Oct. 1908.

[4] *Cf.* the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, sub voc. *Algebra*, *Numerals*, and *Compass*.

[5] *Cf.* Puymaigre, *Les vieux auteurs Castillans*, 2nd series, pp. 14, 177

[6] *Ib.* *Cf. infra.* In Paradise Dante found:

. . . . "Pietro Ispano,
Lo qual giù luce in dodici libelli":

"And he of Spain in his twelves volumes shining." *Par.*, xii. 135. "He of Spain" is Peter of Portugal, or Petrus Ispanus, as he is often called.

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Law. The study of law, both civil and canonical, so ably inaugurated in the first half of the twelfth century, was pushed rapidly forward during the epoch under discussion. And in this connection we may make special mention of Master Vacarius, or Baclareus (†1159), "a Lombard by birth, a man of integrity and well skilled in the laws, (who) was employed in the year 1149 in treating Roman jurisprudence in England; while many people, rich and poor, flocked to hear his expositions. At the suggestion of the poor," continues Robert de Monte, whom we are quoting, "he excerpted ten books from the Codex and Digests—a collection which, if properly mastered, is sufficient for the decision of all legal questions which are usually discussed in the schools."[1]

But it was not merely that this age produced a few great teachers of law. Especially in its thirteenth-century portion, it was an age of lawgivers. Writing of Edward I., Stubbs reminds us that he was not only himself a lawgiver, but that "he lived in a legal age, the age that had seen Frederick II. legislating for Sicily, Lewis IX. for France, and Alfonso the Wise for Castile, the age that witnessed the greatest inroad of written law upon custom and tradition that had occurred since the date of the Capitularies; that saw the growth of great legal schools in the universities, and found in the revived Roman jurisprudence a treasury of principles, rules, and definitions applicable to systems of law which had grown up independently of the Imperial codes."[2]

What Vacarius was as a teacher in England in the middle of the twelfth century, Bracton (†1268) was as a writer about the middle of the thirteenth. Though an ecclesiastic, he

[1] *Chron.*, an. 1149. *Cf.* Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Mediæval Europe.*

[2] *The Constitutional Hist. of England*, ii. p. 107, Oxford, 1875.

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was for many years a judge under Henry III., and, in his *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*,[1] he left behind him a work which has been described by a most competent authority, Maitland, as "the crown and flower of English mediæval jurisprudence,"[2] and as "both marking and making a critical moment in the history of English law, and therefore in the essential history of the English people."[3]

The making of laws, and their application to the subject.

There is surely no need to remind Englishmen that in this epoch in England men did not merely teach and write about laws. They made them, and they devised means for having them put into execution, for having them observed. Who does not know that it was in 1215 that the Magna Carta was signed by King John? and who is not aware of its great importance in the history of the development of our present liberties? It has been called, with some exaggeration but with no little truth, "the first great public act of the nation, after it has realised its own identity; . . . and the whole of the constitutional history of England is little more than a commentary on Magna Carta."[4]

And if there is no Englishman who is ignorant that the Magna Carta is, to a considerable extent, the theoretical foundation of his liberties, there is no Englishman who is ignorant that their practical foundation, begun by Simon de Montfort (†1265), was completed under Edward I. De Montfort's Parliament of 1265 was the archetype of our Legislative Assembly of to-day. "He had had the genius

[1] Six vols., R. S. See also his *Notebook*, ed. Maitland, Cambridge, 1887.

[2] Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law*, i. p. 286, ed. 1898.

[3] Maitland, *Bracton's Notebook*, i. p. 1. I owe these references to *The Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Literature*. Stubbs, *l.c.*, ii. 107, points out how Bracton's labours were at once put "to practical use" by the judges of the land.

[4] Stubbs, *l.c.*, i. p. 532. *Cf.* W. S. M'Kechnie, *Magna Carta, a Commentary on the Great Charter of King John*, Glasgow, 1905.

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to interpret the mind of the nation, and to anticipate the line which was taken by later progress."[1]

While De Montfort was forging an instrument which was at last to pluck entirely from the hands of our kings the power of arbitrarily tampering with the laws, the Plantagenet lawyers developed a system, the modern trial by jury, by which our rulers were hindered from arbitrarily applying them. In the days of Henry II., "from being an exceptional favour, it became under his hand a part of the settled law of the land, a resource which was open to every suitor."[2]

Great legislative development in Germany, France, Spain, Hungary.

The laying of a country's legal foundations in this period was not confined to England. This age, on the contrary, "saw the birth of most of the European systems of national legislation, the great *Mirrors* of Suabia and Saxony, the first laws published in German by Frederick II. at the Diet of Mainz, and the code given by him to Sicily; and it saw in France the *Établissements* of St. Louis, the *Common Law* of Pierre des Fontaines, and the *Customs of Beauvoisis* of Philip of Beaumanoir, and the French version of the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, the most complete summary of laws based on Christianity and the ideas of chivalry."[3]

What is true for England, for France, and for Germany is still truer for Spain, the country of that noble people

[1] Stubbs, ii. p. 91. In Spain, Germany, and Sicily also the people began during this epoch to secure a voice in the government of their country.

[2] Stubbs, *l.c.*, i. 614.

[3] Montalembert, *Hist. de Ste. Élizabeth*, i. 88 f. Brussels, 1838. Translations of this beautiful work into English have been made by Phillips, 1839, and by F. D. Hoyt, New York, 1903. *Cf.* Wallon, *St. Louis*, p. 304 ff., Tours, 1878, who adds the *Traité* of P. des F. The *Mirror* of Saxony (*Sachsenspiegel*) put Saxon law into writing about 1220, and furnished the foundations for the *Schwabenspiegel* (1275), a South German code "which claimed to represent the common law of Germany, and did in fact obtain over a wide area."—Scherer, *A Hist. of German Lit.*, i. 223.

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to whom but seldom is justice done by English historians, but of whom one at least has the knowledge and the candour to write: "The Spanish citizen . . . is at the present day at once the poorest and the proudest man in Europe—the most courtly, the most conservative, and the most silent of the champions of equality and the rights of man. The Spanish people, take it all for all, is perhaps the best in the world."[1] This splendid people had won for themselves at the Cortes of Burgos in 1169 direct popular representation well-nigh a hundred years before the assembly of the Parliament of Simon de Montfort of which we have just spoken.[2] And one of their great thirteenth-century kings, Alfonso X., el Sabio (the Learned or the Wise, 1252–1284), of Leon and Castile, is justly compared as a lawgiver with Justinian and Napoleon. His code, the *Siete Partidas* (1265), is "a comprehensive digest of the code of Justinian, and of that of the Visigoths, of the national and local *Fueros*, of the canon law, and of the decrees of the great councils of Spain," and "remained for over six hundred years not only the great text-book of Spanish jurisprudence, but the greatest exclusively national code of laws in Europe."[3]

[1] Burke—Hume, *A Hist. of Spain*, i. 369.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 370. "Certainly by 1188," adds Hume, "the presence of the burgesses, or their deputies 'chosen by lot,' had become quite a matter of course" in the Cortes.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 282. Dunham, *Spain and Portugal*, iv. 121, speaks to the same effect. Butler Clarke, *Spanish Literature*, p. 19, says they give "proof of broad and liberal views rare even in a more enlightened age." With regard to the power of the Pope, *Las Partidas* (*Part.* ii., tit. 5, l. 5) lays down that he can arrange dioceses as he pleases, deal with bishops and elections as he likes, is the sole judge of the appeals which anyone can make to him, and must be the final referee with regard to all important matters, "for all the power of the bishops is concentrated in him." *Cf.* R. St.-Hilaire, *Hist. d'Espagne*, iv. p. 225 ff., for an analysis of the *Partidas*; and also *Les vieux auteurs castillans*, by the Comte de Puymaigre, 2nd series, p. 45 ff., Paris, 1890.

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The Magna Carta of Hungary, 1222.

The same advance in law and liberty was at this same time being made in the smaller countries of Europe as in the larger. "The Laws of Lamego, so called because they were approved in the cortes assembled at that place in the reign of the first king" of Portugal, are the foundation of the national code of that country;[1] and the *Golden Bull* of Andrew II. of Hungary (1222) became the Magna Carta of the Hungarians. His Bull it was which in after ages they called upon their kings to confirm, as did our countrymen with regard to the Magna Carta of King John.[2] The Golden Bull, we are told, was "a piece of legislation of the first importance to the Hungarian constitution. . . . It broke the power of the Counts and gave extensive privileges to the ecclesiastical and secular nobility of lower rank, securing to the latter a permanent influence upon government legislation and administration."[3] Its initial words show the spirit of the age which wrought all these great deeds. It began: "In the name of the Holy Trinity and undivided Unity."

Law in Norway.

Nor is it without interest that, while Edward I. in our own country was earning the title of the English Justinian, Magnus, king of Norway (1263–80), was deservedly winning for himself the appellation of *Lagabeter*, the mender of the Laws. His code of laws, which he compiled "from the four principal customary laws prevailing in the different provinces," and which "was received as law by the people assembled in the Gala-Ting, in the 1274th winter from

[1] Dunham, *l.c.*, iv. 190 ff.

[2] *Cf.* the bull of King Louis I. of Hungary (1351) confirming the Golden Bull of Andrew II., which it repeats word for word. *Cf.* the text and facsimile of the bull of Louis ap. Helmott, *The World's Hist.*, v., oppos. p. 380.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 381. Vambery, *Hungary*, p. 127 ff.; and Sayous, *Hist. des Hongrois*, i. p. 227 ff., pass the same judgment on the *Golden Bull. Cf.* E. Hantos, *The Magna Carta of the English and of the Hungarian Constitution*, 1904.

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the birth of Christ," proved one of the most effective instruments in bringing about the unity of Norway.[1]

Switzerland.

Moreover, it was before the close of the thirteenth century (1291) that the three cantons round Lake Lucerne, those of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, swore to stand together against all aggression and to acknowledge none but native judges. This covenant was to endure for ever. "This first Perpetual League became the historical basis of the (Swiss) Confederation."[2]

Italy.

While we cannot expect to find in Italy a national code, as it was subject to so many practically independent civil authorities, we do find there in this age a greater advance towards liberty than in any other country. The *Assises* of King Roger II. of Sicily,[3] completed by the Constitutions of Frederick II., endowed Sicily and Southern Italy with the benefits of fixed general law;[4] the semi-independent barons of Central Italy were made more and more to acknowledge the authority of their suzerain the Pope;[5] and in North Italy all power had in a multitude of free burghs passed into the hands of the people, and there was developed in these cities an amount of individual liberty and enterprise that had not been seen since the palmy days of the Greek Republics.

Canon law.

Hand in hand with the civil law there marched towards the grand goal of legal unity the law of the Church, the Canon Law. To Gratian's *Concordance of Discordant Canons*, which constitutes the first part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and which is said to have been confirmed by Eugenius III. (†1153), there was added during this period

[1] Crichton and Wheaton, *Scandinavia*, i. 306 f.

[2] Dändliker, *A Short Hist. of Switzerland*, p. 44, London, 1899.

[3] *Cf.* Curtis, *Roger the Great*, ch. ix.

[4] *Cf.* Kington, *Life of Fred. II.*, i. p. 363 ff.

[5] Hence Innocent III. is regarded by some writers as the real founder of the Papal States.

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the most important portion of the second part of the Corpus, the *Decretals of Pope Gregory IX.* (†1241),[1] which embodied the Decretals of Innocent III., sometimes called the "Father of Law (Pater Juris)." Since the days of Boniface VIII., who was the last Pope but one of this epoch (1130–1305), and who added a sixth book to the Decretals, comparatively little has been done for Canon Law till the present time. And now, under the orders of the reigning Pontiff, Pius X., the great work of codifying the Canon Law is in active progress.

History. Fortunately, the great deeds that were done in the Middle Ages, and the heroic lives that were then lived, did not suffer from the want of Homers to tell the glorious tales. The day, indeed, was not over of the Chronicles, which with true Christian instinct always began their record with the story of the first pair of human beings who came from the hand of God. But in this age there sprang up all over the West a number of men who set down in striking language, and in true historic style, the great achievements which they witnessed, or in which they took part. Geoffrey of Villehardouin's history of the capture of Constantinople by the men who formed the Fourth Crusade (1204) is not only the first history written in the French tongue, but it has never been surpassed for its ingenuousness and for its graphic powers. Though they had not the inestimable advantage of writing, like Villehardouin, in a language just fresh from the mould in which it had been cast, William of Newburgh, *Benedict of Peterborough*, Roger of Hoveden, and, last but not least,

[1] As Gregory's Preface states, the work of compilation was done by the Dominican, St. Raymund of Pennafort (†1275), "per dilectum filium Raymundum, capellanum et poenitentiarum nostrum." It is looked upon, says Butler in his *life* of R. (Jan. 23), as "the best finished part of the body of Canon Law; on which account the canonists have usually chosen it for the texts of their comments."

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Matthew Paris[1] brought to our country undying fame by their historical works. Whatever were the faults of Paris, it must be confessed that he was the greatest of the monastic historians, as his Italian contemporary, the Franciscan Salimbene, was the liveliest. But in the last year of the thirteenth century another Italian began to write a history which put even that of Salimbene completely into the shade. The Florentine Giovanni Villani started in the year 1300 to write the most naïve and speaking chronicle to which the Italian tongue has ever given utterance.[2]

While such modern historians as Stubbs and Green, Symonds and Gregorovius give unstinted praise to the mediæval historians we have just named, Thomas Carlyle expresses high approval of the biography of Abbot Sampson, the humorous and telling production of the monk, Jocelyn of Brakelond. But for everyone who knows and appreciates the Chronicle of Jocelyn, there are dozens who have read with pleasure and admiration the artless narrative of Jean de Joinville, in which a companion recounts "the holy words and the good deeds" of his master, St. Louis of France, the last model of Christian kings.

In the opinion of many, however, and certainly in the opinion of modern Spanish writers,[3] the historians of Spain during this stirring epoch were even more distinguished than those of the other countries we have named. Of

[1] *Cf.* on the character of Matthew Paris, A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, p. 167 ff, Oxford, 1913.

[2] *Cf.* the judgment of Symonds, *The Age of the Despots*, p. 198 ff., London, 1897. He regards "the whole work of Villani as a monument unique in mediæval literature."

[3] Writes Altamira, *Hist. de España*, i. 513: "Ya hemos hecho antes alguna indicación acerca de la gran importancia que adquirió en este período la literatura histórica, *sobrepujando á la de otros países europeos.*" *Cf.* p. 514.

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these, the most famous is the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (†1247), who is regarded by some writers as "the most renowned chronicler of the thirteenth century," and whom the Spaniards justly regard as "the founder of their country's history." Among the other Spanish historians who dignified the thirteenth century, we will name but two more. Of these, one, Alfonso X., el Sabio, of Castile (1252–1284), wrote in the noblest language in the world. His *Cronica General* of Spain is described as the "first of Castilian classics."[1] The other, also a king, En Jaime of Aragon, *el Conquistador*, wrote in Catalan a chronicle which he continued to a date just preceding his death (†1276), and which one learned in things Spanish declares to be "written with frank and manly simplicity," and to be of "very great" value as an historical document.[2]

Languages.

The intensity of the life which throbbed throughout Europe during these ages when the new nations were getting to know themselves, resulted in incessant movement. The Crusades against the Turks, the Moors, and the Slavs, commerce, a real craving for education, the capture of Constantinople by the Latins,[3] the foundation of new Latin principalities in the Byzantine Empire, and a fresh outburst of missionary zeal on the part of the vigorous Orders of SS. Dominic and Francis, brought the peoples of Europe into close contact with the Greeks and the Orientals, and developed new needs and new desires. Necessity and curiosity led the Westerns to wish to know something of the languages of the men with whom they

[1] Burke, *Hist. of Spain*, i. 277. The *C. G.* began with the creation, and closes with the year 1252.

[2] Butler Clarke, *Spanish Literature*, p. 56.

[3] The visit of several Armenians to this country in the thirteenth century is justly connected with the Latin Empire of Constantinople. *Cf.* Mat. Par., *Hist. Maj.*, iii. 163, etc.

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had so many relations. Private individuals and public authorities began to display an energetic interest in Greek and in the Oriental tongues.

Robert de Monte[1] tells us of Burgundio of Pisa, "well skilled in the eloquence of Greece and Rome," who translated much of the Bible and other works from Greek into Latin. Our countryman, Adelhard of Bath, who was still living in the year 1130, travelled in the East, and translated a number of Arabic scientific works into the then common language of the learned.[2] Of another of our countrymen, the distinguished bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, his learned contemporary, Roger Bacon, wrote[3] that he "summoned Greeks, and caused books on Greek grammar to be brought together from Greece and other countries." That marvellous enthusiast Raymond Lull did for Arabic what Grosseteste did for Greek. He translated Arabic works himself, and founded in his native Majorca, on his own estate at Miramar, a college wherein thirteen Franciscan friars were taught Arabic, in preparation for the Eastern missions (1276). He had the satisfaction of seeing his enterprise confirmed by a bull of Pope John XXI.[4] For the benefit of the unbeliever we find him at the very close of the century urging the

[1] Ad an. 1182. Burgundio was present at the famous disputations which Anselm of Havelberg held at Constantinople, and which will be described in the sequel.

[2] On him see the new *Dict. d'hist. et de géog. eccléS.*, by Baudrillart and others, i. 522.

[3] *Opus Tertium*, p. 91, quoted by Stevenson, p. 53, in his excellent *Robert Grosseteste*. John of Salisbury (ep. 229 or ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Becket*, ii. 261, R.S.) says that a certain John the Saracen translated into Latin the works of St. Dionysius the Areopagite.

[4] Dec. 16, 1276. *Cf.* Jaffé, 21183. *Cf.* the efforts of Peter the Venerable to secure a good translation of the Coran. See his ep. iv. 17, and his treatise *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189, Prolog., c. 15, p. 671; and Martène, *Ampl. Coll.*, ix. p. 1120 ff. See also Demimuid, *Pierre-le-Vénérable*, ch. vi.

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University of Paris, "where the spring of the Divine Knowledge gushes forth, and where the light of the truth shines forth on Christian peoples," to exhort Philip the Fair to found chairs for "Arabic, Tartar, and Greek studies (1298–9)."[1]

The zeal of the Franciscan tertiary Lull in the pursuit of the knowledge of languages was rivalled by the Dominicans. In 1256 Humbert, the *General* of the Dominicans, informed the brethren of the Order that "their brothers in the parts of Spain who had for many years been studying Arabic among the Saracens, had not only made laudable progress in their studies, but had even brought many of the Saracens themselves to the faith."[2]

Kings, emperors, and Popes also strove to advance the study of languages.

Having Moslems in their territories, it was only natural that Frederick II., emperor and king of Sicily,[3] and the kings of Spain should encourage the study of Arabic. In Spain especially do we meet with considerable linguistic activity. In that favoured land we find at an early period a school of translators encouraged by Alfonso VI. of Leon, and especially by Alfonso VII., *el Emperador*, of Leon and Castile (1126–1157), who made known to Christian Europe the Arabian philosophers, Avicena, Averroës, and many others.[4] King James I. of Aragon, the Chronicler, caused many works to be translated into Catalan;[5] and the kings of Castile and Aragon founded schools for Arabic in Marcia, and in the universities of Salamanca and Seville.[6]

[1] Denifle, *Chart. Univer. Par.*, ii. 83. He wrote to Philip himself, to the Pope and others to the same effect. *Cf. ib.*, p. 84 n.; and Barber, *R. Lull*, p. 97, etc. [2] Denifle, *ib.*, i. 318, June 1256.

[3] *Cf.* Kington, *Fred. II.*, i. 438 f. With Greeks in S. Italy, Frederick had also to promote the study of their language.

[4] Altamira, *l.c.*, i. 512–3. [5] Swift, *King James*, p. 255.

[6] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii., pt. i., p. 81 f.

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In connection with the latter university there exists a bull of Alexander IV. (1260) recognising it as a *Studium Generale* for the study of Arabic;[1] for he was one of the many Popes who interested themselves in this language movement.

Innocent IV., Alexander IV., and Honorius IV. and the study of languages.

In the days of Innocent IV., there was at Paris the so-called Collegium Constantinopolitanum or Orientale, whither that Pope had caused to be sent ten Eastern youths skilled in Arabic and other Oriental languages, to study theology with a view to subsequent missionary work. For the support of these youths the Pope bade the chancellor of Paris make provision, lest want of the necessaries of life should compel them to abandon their studies.[2] Alexander IV. followed with letters to the same effect.[3] The college grew. Pope after Pope interested himself in it; and Honorius IV., besides doing likewise,[4] founded at Rome, on the representations of Raymond Lull, a school like that at Miramar.[5]

The age of epic and lyric poetry.

After all, however, in the matter of the study of languages, the age we are reviewing was rather one of promise than of realisation; and, seeing that it is especially as an age of realisations that we are considering it, we had better turn without more ado to other subjects wherein work for all time was accomplished. During this prolific age not merely were the foundations laid of the national literatures of Europe, but in some departments of it structures were raised which have never been surpassed.

(1) In Germany.

If in Germany, however, during the greater portion of this epoch, its literary years were in many branches at

[1] *Ib.*, and Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'église*, iv. 180.

[2] Ep. of June 1248, ap. Denifle, *Chart. Paris*, i. p. 212. *Cf.* the two following letters.

[3] *E.g.*, *ib.*, p. 372.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 638.

[5] André, *R. Lulle*, p. 117.

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least but lean, has not the production of the *Nibelungenlied* (*c.* 1200) rendered it to every German for ever distinguished among the ages?[1] It was the same epoch and the same country that produced the Minnesingers (Love-singers), and that listened to the fresh, sweet strains of Walter von der Vogelweide († *c.* 1230), whose epitaph pities them that forget him, and to Wolfram of Eschenbach († *c.* 1220), of whom a contemporary poet said that "no lay mouth ever spoke better."[2]

(2) In England.

Whilst Wolfram was firing the imaginations and the hearts of the Germans with the story of Parzival's quest of the Holy Grail, Walter Map,[3] so it is said, created the English seeker after the Holy Grail, the knight Sir Lancelot, and won for himself the fame of being "one of the great novelists of the world, and one of the greatest of them."[4] Not merely in England, but in our tongue, the priest Layamon left us in his *Brut* the first work "of any magnitude in Middle English," and a work which, after an existence of seven hundred years, can be read with interest to-day.[5] And of another English book written about the same time, the *Ancren Riwle* (Anchoresses' Rule) we are assured that, "owing to its personal charm, and its complete sympathy with all that was good in contemporary literature, (it) stands apart by itself as the greatest prose work of the

[1] The date of the production of "la grande épopée des Nibelunges" cannot be fixed to a few years, but "telle que nous la possédons maintenant, est sans contredit la fin du 12e ou le commencement du 13e siècle," says Eichorn, *Tableau de la littérature du Nord au moyen âge*, p. 355. *Cf.* Scherer, *A Hist. of German Lit.*, i. 101 ff.

[2] Scherer, *l.c.*, p. 161. *Cf.* Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, i. 588 ff. and ii. 28 ff.

[3] Born *c.* 1137, † before 1209.

[4] *Cf.* Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory*; and the *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, i. 270 ff.

[5] *Cf.* Craik, *Hist. of Eng. Language and Literature*, vol. i., in his section on "Second English."

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time, and as one of the most interesting of the whole Middle English period."[1]

(3) In France.

While Germany and England were producing such immortal works, we may be sure that the elegant voice of France was not silent.[2] Far from it. It was the genius of France which furnished the models for the other countries. If there were Minnesingers in Germany in the thirteenth century, it was because there had been Troubadours and Trouvères in France in the twelfth century. The first in modern literature to acclaim in high-flown language the sentiments inspired by the passion of love, the Troubadours became masters of the technique of verse composition and of lyric poetry, and consequently exercised the greatest influence not merely on the Minnesingers but on Dante and Petrarch. If we reckon William VII. of Poitiers, whose poems were produced about the year eleven hundred, as the first of the Troubadours, the twelth and thirteenth centuries may be accounted the age of the Troubadours, the age in which they grew, attained their maturity (1140 to 1250), and ignominiously perished. Before dismissing the Troubadours, we may note their beneficial influence in improving the refinements of life, and add that it is often said that the crusade against the Albigensians killed their muse. Though the sweet and tender muse of lyric poetry cannot raise her voice amid the din of arms, it is to be observed that the golden age of the Troubadours was

[1] *Camb. H. of E. Lit.*, i. 230. *Cf.* especially Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 311 ff., where there is set forth a full account of this work, which "gives a direct insight into the moral beauties of the religious attitude, and enables us to form some idea of the high degree of culture and refinement which the thirteenth-century mystic attained."

[2] "The period called the thirteenth century, which begins with the reign of Philip Augustus (1180), is one of the most noteworthy epochs in the whole of French literature."—Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, p. 46, Cambridge, 1885.

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over when the Albigensian wars began, and that, in the words of one of their most recent historians, the Albigensian crusades would not, perchance, "have been able to kill the poetry of the Troubadours if it had not at a very early period become too conventional" (and, we may add, too pagan[1]). "Artificial conventionality may impart the semblance of life, but it cannot give life itself."[2]

It was not merely the verses of the Troubadours that caused the Florentine Brunetto Latini, Dante's master, to say that "French is the most delightful of all languages and the best known."[3] To the formation of this opinion contributed very largely the famous verses which made up the *Roman de la Rose*, the first part of which was written by Guillaume de Lorris about the year 1237, and the second by Jean Clopinel of Meun about 1277. But it is

[1] The Troubadours "seized every opportunity to court the distractions and follies of intrigue," says Rowbotham, *Troubadours and Courts of Love*, p. 226. In their extravagance they exalted love above life, honour, virtue, or religion. *Ib.*, p. 227. This same author neatly demonstrates how the practices of the Troubadours found support in the theories of the Albigensians, and how consequently the great mass of the Troubadours vigorously supported the Albigensian propaganda. "One may very easily see to what practical results in life at large such views (viz., those of the Albigensians, with their *two eternal* principles of good and evil) on religion and morals unavoidably lead, and how nearly and unfortunately akin they were in their general effects upon practice to the life of love and pleasure which was being led by the Troubadours and their lady-loves, as yet unconscious that the courts of love and the encouragements of amorous laxity were directly in accordance with the precepts of religion," *i.e.*, of course, of the Albigensian religion. *Ib.*, p. 295. The pertinence of these remarks is not affected even if it be maintained with some that there never were "Courts of Love" at all.

[2] J. Anglade, *Les Troubadours*, p. 301, Paris, 1908.

[3] *Cf.* his *Li Livres dou Tresor*, written *c.* 1265. The second part of his assertion is supported by the authority of another Italian, M. da Canale, "lengue françeise cort parmi le monde." Ed. Galvani, p. 268.

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only the first part which "is one of the most agreeable works of the Middle Ages";[1] and the "Clopyngels *clean* Rose," of one of our old poets, only applies to the work of de Lorris. "In touching the Rose, Clopinel destroyed its bloom."[2]

(4) In Flanders.

If France helped the poetry of England and Germany, it also helped that of Flanders. Many poets during this epoch sang satirical songs under the guise of Reynard the Fox,[3] attacking the abuses of the imperial and papal curias, and showing how hard it was for a poor man to get that justice for which such Popes as Gregory VII. and Innocent III. thirsted so much. But it was the poem of a French priest, Pierre de St. Cloud, that inspired the *Reinaert* of the Flemish poet Willem (1250), that best of the "animal" epics of the Middle Ages, and the foundation of Goethe's *Reinecke Fuchs* in the nineteenth century.

(5) Spain.

Their incessant struggles against the Moors and their victories over them, which have made the twelfth century so memorable to the Spaniards, kept ever before their eyes the warlike doings of "My Cid" (Myo Cid) in the preceding century. Most probably in "the latter half of the twelfth century"[4] the *Poema de Myo Cid* saw the light,

[1] Gaston Paris, *La Littérature Française au moyen âge*, p. 181, Paris, 1905.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 184. "Je suis maistre Jean de Meun
Qui par maint vers sans nule prose
Fis cy le roman de la Rose,
Et cest hostel, que cy voyez,
Pris pour acomplir mes soutrez."

Cf. Quicherat, *Jean de Meung et sa maison à Paris*, p. 48, ap. *Bib. de l'école des Chartes*, 1880.

[3] *Cf.* Mme. de Sanctis, *Reynard the Fox, an old story retold*, London, 1885; *Reynard the Fox*, ed. J. Jacobs, 1895; also ed. F. S. Ellis, London, 1894.

[4] *Ib.*, Butler Clarke, *Spanish Literature*, p. 12.

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and the delighted people heard the Cid calling upon them in their own tongue:

"Ferid los, Canalleros, por amor de caridad:
Yo so Rruy Diaz el Cid Campeador de Biuar!"

"Strike them, Cavaliers, for the love of charity!
I am Ruy Diaz, the Cid Campeador Bivar!"

"Apart," says Butler Clarke,[1] "from its value as the earliest monument of the language which, in after times, was to spread over so large a part of the earth, the *Poema* is worthy of attention and admiration by reason of its heroic simplicity, its rapid movement, the lifelike pictures it presents of the turbulent times in which it was composed, and the free and light-hearted spirit in which it was composed. Here is chivalry indeed, without the false and sickly sentimentality with which it was corrupted in a later age."

(6) Italy. In turning to Italy we meet with a poet acknowledged by all the world to be the equal of the greatest masters of song. The name of Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) is more than enough to make this age ever memorable to Italy and to mankind at large. Let it be enough for us to call the *Divina Commedia* the noblest of Christian poems, and to note that, if actually written in the early years of the fourteenth century, the idea of it "appears to have occurred to Dante at any early date" in his life,[2] and that it belongs in every thought and word and mood and tense to the thirteenth century. Feeling it presumptuous to remind anyone of anything connected with Dante, we are disposed to leave in his safe keeping the poetical glories of the long years which saw the greatest temporal influence of the successors of St. Peter.

[1] *Ib.*, p. 13. Let the English reader who wishes to form an adequate notion of the literature of the Cid consult Mr. Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, and Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads*.

[2] Gaspary, *Italian Literature*, p. 289.

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Photo Alinari

The Cloister of St. Lawrence outside-the-walls. (Twelfth century.)

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Other branches of literature.

But these years were fruitful in begetting other models besides those in theology and philosophy, in law and in history, and in epic, lyric, and satirical poetry.[1] With theology, law, and history it is impossible to dissociate the lives of the saints; and the drama is inextricably bound up with poetry. When we mention the *Legenda Aurea* of the Dominican James de Voraigne (Varazze, near Genoa), who died in 1298, we remind ourselves that the lives or legends of the saints were for centuries the delight of thousands, and that even by the year 1500, besides several translations, some seventy editions of it had been published ;[2] and if some have contemned the *Legenda*, it is surely enough to win them praise that they inspired the *Golden Legend* of Longfellow.

It is, moreover, to this epoch, and not to the days of Sophocles and Euripides, or of Plautus and Terence, that students of the modern drama trace its origin. It was the mediæval Christian mystery play and not the classical tragedy of Greece or Rome that gave birth to the drama of to-day. Its origin is to be sought in such performances as the Spanish miracle play of *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* (Mystery of the Magian Kings), in the Nativity plays organised by St. Francis of Assisi and his followers, and in the *Ludus de Sancta Katharina* acted in England in the twelfth century.[3]

[1] *E.g.*, the *rhythm* of papal bulls was brought to perfection in this epoch. *Cf.* N. Valois, *Le rythme des bulles pontif.*, p. 261 ff.

[2] Hurter, *Nomenclator Litterar.*, iv. p. 346. In 1900 ff. Mr. F. S. Ellis, who re-edited W. Caxton's version of the *L.A.*, in seven small vols., for the Temple Classics series, assures us that he "read every page very carefully six times with unabated interest"; and that "probably no other book was more frequently reprinted between the years 1470 and 1530," vol. i. p. vii.

[3] *Cf.* Katherine Bates, *The English Religious Drama*, London, 1893 ; J. T. Smith, *York Mystery Plays* ; Garnett and Gosse, *English Literature*, i. p. 220 ff. These authors note that, especially after the

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Nor because Iceland is far away must we forget that it was in the thirteenth century that Snorri Sturleson wrote his dramatic history, and that the five greater sagas were composed. Whilst the Popes were the chief figures in feudal Europe was the golden age of Iceland's manly literature.[1]

The encyclopedias (1) of Vincent of Beauvais,

Side by side with that poetical hagiology, with that devotional drama, and with that graphic history, which for centuries instructed or delighted the West, there appeared the first of the encyclopedias. Of its author, the Dominican, Vincent of Beauvais († *c.* 1264), one who has specially studied his work wrote[2]: "What the eighteenth century could not do, was undertaken by a single man, a monk, some five centuries previously and some two centuries before the invention of printing; when literary communications were limited, when books were scarce and hard to get, when learning was the privilege of the few, and when an author in taking a great scientific

institution of the feast of Corpus Christi (1264), the trade guilds took up the production of miracle plays, "and in many cities England had at length a national drama, rude indeed, but appreciated by the people, patronised by the clergy, not wholly slighted by the aristocracy, and preface and presage of the drama to come." *Ib.*, p. 223.

[1] *Cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 370 ff.

[2] E. Boutaric, *Vincent de Beauvais*, ap. *Rev. des quest. hist.*, t. 17 (1875), p. 11. *Cf.* Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, ii. 82 ff., 315 ff. See also Didron, *Christian Iconography* (i. 10 ff.), for the excellence of the classification adopted by Vincent, and its influence on art. We may note here that early in the thirteenth century "French prose romance begins," and that "the most popular story-book of the Middle Ages," the *Gesta Romanorum*, was probably composed in England towards the close of the same century. And with the *Gesta* we may connect the tales of *Conde Lucanor*, written in the same century by "the second great Spanish prose-writer, the Infante Don Juan Manuel." To such pretty stories as Aucassin and Nicolette (of which English readers will find a full account in Mr. Allen's *Impressions of Provence*, p. 40 ff., London, 1910) the origin of our modern novel is justly ascribed. *A. and N.* has been translated by M. S. Henry, and versified by E. W. Thomson, *c.* 1904.

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enterprise in hand could not be buoyed up by the hope of having many readers. And what he undertook, he had the glory of accomplishing. Glory did I say? I have made a mistake; for no glory awaited the author of one of the most gigantic enterprises which a man has ever conceived. There remain but a book which no one now reads, and a name which merely awakens a vague memory of learning and patience. The book is the *Speculum Majus*, the name that of Vincent of Beauvais."

(2) of Latini.

"In the thirteenth century," writes Gaspary,[1] "a general endeavour begins to make itself felt to diffuse knowledge, and to make it accessible to all alike, and not merely to scholars." One of those who thus contributed to spread knowledge was Brunetto Latini, who made "one of the earliest attempts at an encyclopedia in the vulgar tongue." His *Trésor*, written in French, proved a most popular work.

The hymns of the Church.

But the literature of the age we are so fondly considering has been raised to its almost unapproachable height not by secular verse, nor by golden legends, nor yet by pretty or ingenious tales, but by its Latin hymns. No lover of piety, no admirer of poetry can ever forget that it was in this age that Thomas of Celano produced his *Dies Iræ*, those solemn lines, the majestic beat of which peals through the soul like the notes of a powerful organ or the full tones of some great sweet-sounding bell. Do we not owe *Jerusalem the Golden* to Bernard of Morlaix? and is not the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* assigned to Innocent III.? Who has ever combined learning and piety, theology and poetry so wonderfully as St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Pange Lingua*? What son will ever express more tenderly the sorrows of his mother than did Jacopone da Todi those of our Lady in his pathetic *Stabat*

[1] *Italian Literature*, p. 175 ff.

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Mater?[1] Nor must we fail to recall the fact that music had so far developed by the thirteenth century, that it was capable of composing the melody to which is sung on Holy Saturday the *Exultet jam angelica*—a melody which, as an expression of holy joy, has never been surpassed.[2]

The learning of the Middle Ages was neither sterile nor degrading. Mental illumination resulted in the outpouring of the soul to its Creator. It directed the aspirations of men upwards to their infinite Maker. In the eyes of the Middle Ages man was indeed a little less than the angels, and not a little better than an anthropoid ape. Hence in the thirteenth century there was instituted the pre-eminently beautiful feast of *Corpus Christi*, proclaiming that the men of the age looked forward to the closest union with God as their ultimate end. And if, in the gorgeous liturgical services which they carried out in the sublime buildings they erected to be houses of God, they were especially fond of stately processions, it was to typify their journey towards heaven to join the everlasting company of His sons.[3]

[1] For a full appreciation of these glorious hymns see the chapter on "The Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry of the Middle Ages," by the Rev. J. Mason Neale in the *Hist. of Roman Literature* in the series *Encyclop. Metropol.*, and Saintsbury's *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory*, which is the 2nd vol. of his *Periods of European Literature*.

[2] Walsh, p. 207. If the hymns assigned to them in the text were not composed by Thomas of Celano and Innocent III., they were at least the product of their age. See Salimbene, *Chron.*, p. 181 ff., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii., on the skill in music of some of the early Friars Minor. *Cf.* also p. 298. Adam de la Hale produced the first opera in 1285.

[3] On the remarkable symbolism of the Middle Ages see the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of Durandus, bishop of Mende († 1296), a work which has been very often edited, and has been at least partially translated into English by J. M. Neale and others. The *Rationale* embraces practically all that from the days of Amalricus (9th cent.) had been written on the liturgy. According to Walsh, p. 234, the

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Art.

Of the excellences of this age of papal supremacy of which we have hitherto spoken, it may be difficult for some people to judge. To form a correct opinion on the value of the work done during this period in theology, philosophy, and literature no doubt requires a considerable amount of learning and study, but there is a domain of medieval work of the supreme excellence of which it is easier for ordinary men to judge, as their eyes gazing on medieval work and modern can help them to see wherein the former has the advantage. The faith of the men of the Middle Ages did not manifest itself only in the spoken or in the written word;[1] they displayed it in the work of their hands.

Architecture.

Of all the branches of art in which they excelled architecture was the chief. An Englishman would have to be singularly devoid of taste if, after he had seen the cathedrals of Canterbury and York, Lincoln and Durham, Peterborough and Winchester, Salisbury, Ely and Wells, and the abbeys of Tintern, Rievaulx, and Fountains, and if after he had been told that one and all of them dated from this glorious age, he should fail to recognise that it had produced models for all time. There is a say-

Rationale was the first work from the pen of an uninspired writer to be accorded the privilege of being printed. The Editio Princeps, a real first edition of supreme value, appeared from the press of John Fust in 1459. Huysmans' *Cathedral* is really a dissertation on medieval symbolism.

[1] Hence it is that we are assured that the first characteristic of the art of this period is that it is essentially religious, and that it has sprung from an effort to honour God, and to elevate and instruct the people. "Le premier de ces caractères (of medieval art), c'est d'être essentiellement religieux et profondément honnête . . . l'art n'est pas fait pour l'art; il est fait pour honorer Dieu et pour éclairer le peuple." Lecoy de la Marche, *Le treizième siècle artistique*, p. 410 f. The cathedrals of France sprang from the faith and piety of its clergy and people, and not, as some have idly contended, from the "communal movement."

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ing in France that one would see a perfect cathedral if there were combined the nave of Amiens, the choir of Beauvais, the façade of Rheims, and the towers of Laon. Now all these elements of architectural perfection were constructed in this period. And if to them we add La Sainte Chapelle of Paris, and above all that comparatively little known but exquisitely proportioned cathedral of Bourges, it may well be asked if the hand of man will ever again erect such noble structures.[1]

What need is there then to point out that at the same time the architectural glories of England and France were being equalled, and in some particulars at least being surpassed in Italy at Pisa and Orvieto, at Assisi and Ravello,[2] and at Siena and Florence; in Sicily at Cefalù, Palermo, and Monreale; in Germany at Mainz and Cologne; in Spain at Burgos, and even in such countries as Norway and Sweden and distant Russia.[3]

Although the chief architectural glories of this epoch were the cathedrals, still fortifications like those of Carcassonne[4] show that military architecture was at a very high level; and, whilst such cities as Perugia and

[1] And perhaps the answer should be in the negative; for it may be doubted whether ages of such lively faith will again return; and it was that faith which built the cathedrals. It is that faith of which Mr. Lethaby (*Medieval Art*, p. 142) must have been speaking when he said: "The great cathedrals are more than buildings, more than art, something intangible was built into them with their stones, and burnt into their glass."

[2] This cathedral is mentioned not by reason of its special excellence, but because illustrations of it will be given in the sequel on account of its connection with the English Pope, Hadrian IV.

[3] To check our statements regarding the dates of the cathedrals, etc., mentioned, consult Perry, *Chronology of Architecture*, London, 1893. See also Lecoy de la Marche, *Le treizième siècle artistique*, Lille, 1889; Walsh, *The Thirteenth greatest of Centuries*, c. vi. p. 96 ff.

[4] The Black Gate of the city in which I am writing these lines was built in 1268.

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Siena, Florence and Orvieto were building cathedrals, they were also erecting "magnificent communal palaces. The construction of the most celebrated town-halls was accomplished at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. . . . The still existing municipal palaces of Italy, in the architecture of which Romanesque Gothic is seen at its best, are among the finest monuments of the Middle Ages."[1]

Sculpture.

But faith was then the great motive power, and it was round the cathedral and the cloister that the arts gravitated. It was in connection with them that all the fine work of the age was executed. To judge at least from such remains as the Puritans have left us, it would appear that in this country great excellence was reached even in the sculpture of the human figure;[2] while there was to be found a school of art which in the matter of foliage and other decorative detail displayed a grace of design "and beauty of execution which far surpassed the works of any age, either anterior or subsequent."[3] And precisely where England succeeded France led the way. Work of draped human figures was there produced which has remained

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, v., pt. ii. p. 678. *Cf.* also Leader Scott, *The Renaissance of Art in Italy*, p. 16.

[2] "In the first half of the thirteenth century, when the building art had become dexterous and supple, the sculptor's craft too grew fine and sensitive: it mastered its means of expression. For the fifty years from 1250 to 1300 the Gothic art of sculpture in England achieved representative works that were the triumphant expression of a craftsmanship new in the history of the world. The generation living about 1300 saw a golden age in the arts of West Europe; a purity of idea, a perfection of exact execution pervade the works of the sculptor." E. S. Prior, *An Account of the Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, p. 1, Cambridge, 1912.

[3] Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, i. p. 186. *Cf.* pp. 183–4. London, 1882. Even in this respect France was not behind England, as the "famous capital of the vintage of Notre-Dame at Rheims, carved about the year 1250," proves. Walsh, p. 106.

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unsurpassed if not unequalled. "The study of drapery in its manifold effects has hardly ever been carried to a greater perfection than at this time—the thirteenth century—in France. . . . In fact, a great part of the originality of the French sculptor consisted in his prolific invention of artistically conceived drapery. This exemplifies the truth that draped figures stand for the highest form of sculpture and the most perfect presentation of the human individual, keeping physical beauty in due subordination to beauty of mind. It seems probable that the artist in making his preliminary sketches first drew the nude figure in the desired position, and afterwards draped it; thus explaining the admirable pose which is invariably to be seen in the sculptures of the thirteenth century."[1] The statues of Wells, Westminster, and Lincoln will compare most favourably with those of Amiens, Chartres, and Rheims, which are the best in France, and of the last named of which at least it has been said by Didron that they are: "*chefs-d'œuvre* that will bear comparison with the finest statues of antiquity."[2]

Though there is not so much fine sculpture dating from this period in Germany as in France, some very fine work was nevertheless done there, as is eloquently proclaimed by the choir and other sculptures of the Church of St. Michael at Hildesheim, and by the statuary decorations of "the *golden door* in the cathedral at Freiberg, the *chef-*

[1] A. L. Frothingham, *Sculpture in Europe in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 381 f., in the *American Journal of Archæology*. One of the best-known writers on architecture, G. E. Street, has put on record: "In Notre-Dame (Paris) I always feel more pleasure in looking at the beautiful sculptures behind the stalls of the choir than in anything else. They are a most valuable series, treated in a bold and simple manner." *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, p. 9, ed. 1855.

[2] Ap. Froth., p. 384. *Cf. The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*, by M. and E. Marriage, Cambridge, 1910.

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d'œuvre of the German doorways of the thirteenth century."[1]

After France had set before the world such models in sculpture as that known as the *Beau Dieu* of Amiens, Niccola Pisano († *c.* 1275) and his school brought so much glory to Italy that it has required the persistent labour of modern students of art to restore their due share of honour in the matter of the sculpture to England, to Germany, and above all to France itself. Lord Lindsay once compared "the advent of Niccola Pisano to that of the sun at his rising," and spoke of the time when "Niccola emerged in his glory, sovereign and supreme, a fount of light, diffusing warmth and radiance over Christendom."[2] Though this praise would now be regarded as somewhat exaggerated, in view of what has been said of the priority and general superiority of sculpture in France, it will not be denied by anyone that Niccola was a genius, and that his work exercised the greatest influence over art in Italy. His famous pulpit, in the cathedral of Pisa, which he completed in 1260, is "perhaps the most elegant in Italy,"[3] and his *arca* (or shrine) of St. Dominic in the cathedral of Bologna "is a marvel of beauty, a shrine of pure and Christian feeling, which you will pilgrimise to with deeper reverence every time you revisit Bologna."[4]

[1] Lübke, *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the Middle Ages*, p. 244, Edinburgh, 1885.

[2] *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, i. 357, 2nd ed.

[3] On account of its *classical* character, perhaps "tasteful" would be a more suitable word to apply to his pulpit than "elegant." Niccola seems to have designed the *arca*, but not to have worked at it. *Cf. Five Italian Shrines*, by W. G. Waters.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 363. Lord Lindsay also holds that "in painting, the schools of Giotto, of Siena and of Bologna spring immediately from the pulpits of Pisa, and Siena and the Ark of St. Dominic, in distinct streams, like the Ganges, Indus, and Brahmaputra from the central peaks of Himalaya" (p. 365).

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Cosmatesque work and the mosaic picture.

Very often used as an adjunct to sculpture was that geometrical form of mosaic work which the Cosmati brought to such perfection that it has ever since been known by their name. Here we will merely repeat that the Cosmati did their best work in the thirteenth century,[1] and add that this age witnessed not only the advent of the Cosmatesque mosaic, but also the revival of the mosaic picture. Under the inspiration of Byzantine masters brought into Italy, fine work in mosaic was done both in their own country by such Italians as the Franciscan Giacomo (Mino) da Turrita, who died seemingly in the last decade of the thirteenth century, and by Andrea Tafi († 1294) and Gaddo Gaddi († 1312), the friend of Cimabue, and in other countries, our own for instance, by Peter and Odericus of Rome. In Westminster Abbey "on the marble cornice of the Confessor's shrine . . . were set letters of blue glass mosaic, three inches high, giving first the date, 1279, then the words: 'Hoc opus est factum quod Petrus duxit in actum Romanus civis,' followed by the name of King Henry III., as having ordered the work. On the mosaic pavement laid down before the altar in 1268 appears the name of the artist, Odericus of Rome."[2]

Painting.

The mention of these artists of Rome is a reminder that the new schools of painting[3] in central Italy which were to acquire such enduring fame were indebted for their inspiration to the school of Rome. One of the assured results of modern art criticism based upon recent discoveries of

[1] *Cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 12. They are credited with building the glorious cloisters of St. Paul outside-the-walls (1193-1241), while the kindred school of the Vassalletti or Bassalletti seem to have erected the even more glorious cloisters of the Lateran.

[2] Lethaby, *Medieval Art*, p. 259 f. On the work of Mino, etc., see Lindsay, *l.c.*, i. p. 328 ff., who reckons G. Gaddi as "the last of the great Italian mosaicists."

[3] Even the art of painting in oils was practised in the thirteenth century. *Cf.* De la Marche, *Le treizième siècle artistique*, p. 221 ff.

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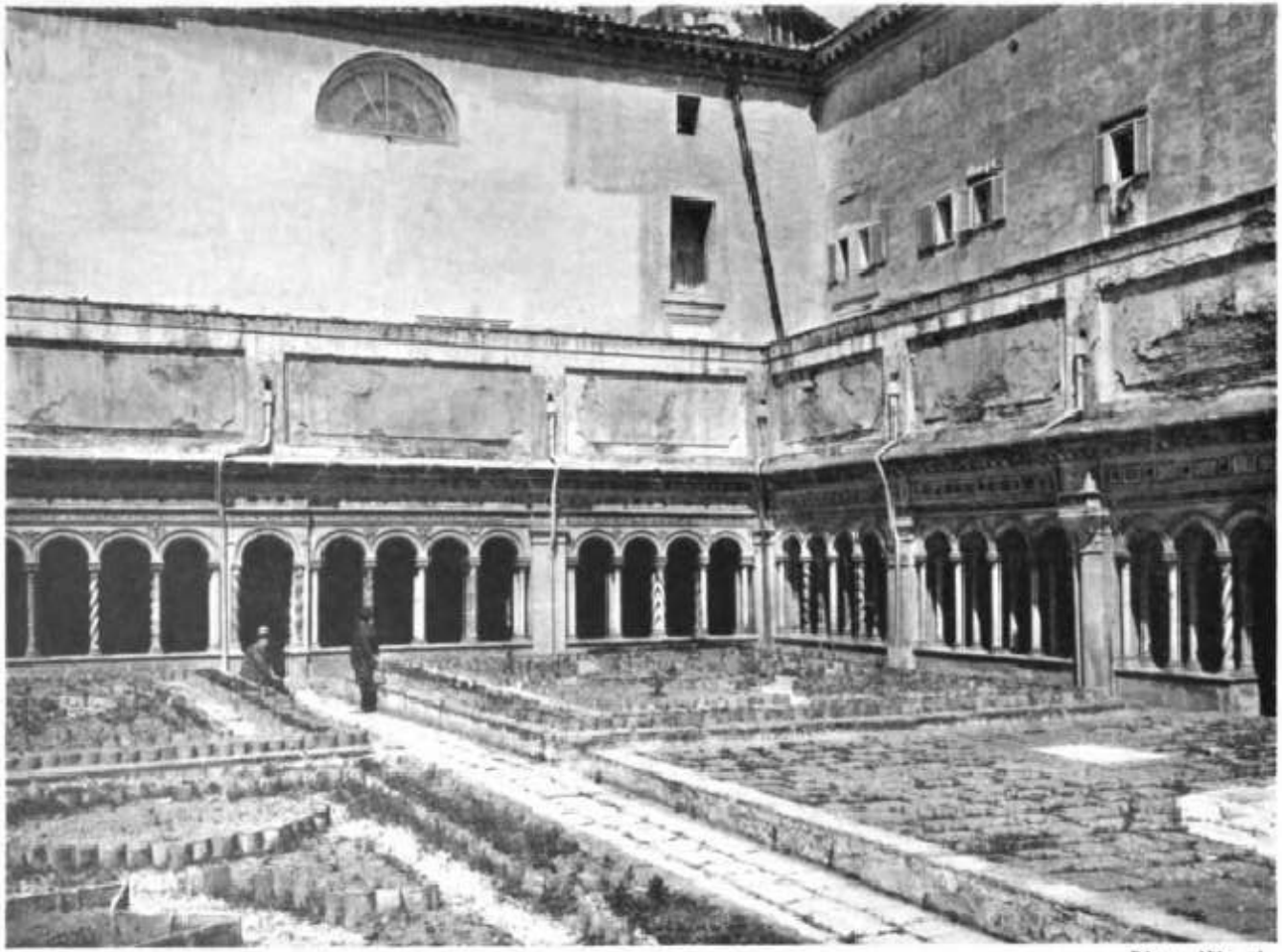

Photo Alinari

The Cloister of St. Paul's outside-the-Walls.
(Handiwork of the Cosmati.)

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medieval frescoes is that "the old Roman school had preserved its existence throughout the early Middle Ages," and that "its increased vitality during the thirteenth century," due to a return to the study of antiquity, was the main factor in the education of Giotto, the father of modern painting. It was to Pietro Cavallini and the Cosmati of Rome, and to Niccola of Pisa, that Giotto owed his inspiration,[1] and the frescoes he painted in the Church of St. Francis at Assisi will for ever make his name a landmark in the history of painting.

Illumination.

If it is necessary to seek in the thirteenth century the source of modern painting in general, the particular form of that art known as illumination reached in the same "wonderful century" a very high standard of perfection. As far as the art of illumination is concerned, this century has been hailed as its "most interesting and original" epoch, and it has been said that many of the best works of this century display "an astonishing variety and profusion of invention."[2]

[1] *Cf.* Lethaby, *l.c.*, pp. 278-9, 285; Sir Martin Conway, *Early Tuscan Art*, p. 92 ff.; and especially Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, i. pp. 82 and 182, ed. 1903. We have said nothing particular in the text of Cimabue, because "of the artistic achievement of Cimabue, Giotto's supposed master, we know nothing certainly." C. and C., p. 82. *Cf.* p. 177. "The most important of the pre-Giottesque works at Assisi are . . . by *Roman* masters." *Ib.*, p. 178. See also p. 181, where it is further asserted that "it cannot be proved that a single picture attributed to Cimabue was painted by him," and p. 187 ff.

[2] H. N. Humphreys, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, London, 1888, ap. Walsh, p. 163. "A new and more florid style of initial letters arose about the eleventh century, formed principally of interlacing branches, sometimes terminating in the heads of animals, and at other times interwoven with animals, the spaces between the ornaments generally filled alternately with light blue and delicate green. This style continued to acquire richness and distinctness until it resolved itself in the twelfth century into . . . perhaps the noblest style of illumination ever evolved during the whole thirteen centuries during

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Stained glass.

Even from examples in our own country, in York and Lincoln, the superiority of thirteenth-century stained glass to that of the stained glass of our own day can easily be seen. If that is true of English stained glass, it is still truer of French; for, according to the earliest art critic of the Middle Ages, the artist monk Theophilus, who seems to have written his *Diversarum Artium Schedula* about the end of the twelfth century, French stained glass was the most famous.[1] A large amount of still existing stained glass of the period in the great cathedrals of Bourges and Chartres bears eloquent witness that the worthy monk was not mistaken in his judgment. "The coloured glass paintings of the Middle Ages till the fifteenth century," says Lübke,[2] "retain a *tapestry* character, and, by the grouping of colours, choice of ornaments, and happy arrangement, produce a beauty and harmony which prove them to be *chefs-d'œuvre* of Middle Age polychromy. . . . The colours are of a depth and translucency not again attainable in later epochs."

Metal-work.

But, besides stone and glass, various metals were used in connection with the cathedral, such as iron and brass, gold and silver. Occasionally above and at the back of altars there was to be found in this as well as in the preceding epoch elaborate metal-work exhibiting embossed designs

which the art was practised. . . . The fine style of the twelfth century flourished all over Western Europe . . . and exhibited itself not only in the art of illumination, but also in sculpture, stained glass, and in gold and silver work, in each modified by the nature of the material." Humphreys, *ib.*, p. 4, ed. London, 1849. *Cf.* De la Marche, *l.c.*, ch. ix. *Cf.* Salimbene, *Chron.*, p. 181, for the skill of some of the early Friars Minor in the art of illumination. Speaking of Brother Henry of Pisa, he says: "Item sciebat scribere, *miniare* quod aliqui alluminare dicunt, pro eo quod ex minio (scarlet) liber illuminatur." *Cf.* pp. 108, 136.

[1] Lethaby, *l.c.*, p. 181.

[2] *L.c.*, pp. 233–4. The stained glass of the Sainte Chapelle proves that the age of St. Louis was the golden age for that as for most other branches of medieval art. De la Marche, *l.c.*, p. 242.

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and covered with enamels. "One of the noblest works of this kind," perhaps "the most beautiful enamel-work of the Middle Ages," is the altar-panel in the Church of Klosterneuburg.[1] It was completed in 1181 by Master Nicholaus von Verdun. Indeed, of whatever form of metal-work there may be question, whether it be of chalices or of reliquaries in the precious metals,[2] or of censers, candlesticks, *coronæ*, in some inferior metal,[3] or again of sepulchral brasses,[4] it is the same story. Such work was done in every variety of metal-work then required for cathedral or cloister or castle, that succeeding ages must copy them if they would produce anything as fine.

The shrine.

The arts of which we have just spoken were all concentrated round the shrines of the saints, and it is justly asserted that "the greatest zeal for their fabrication, and for the translation of the remains of the saints to the place of greatest honour in their churches, was displayed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it was then that the shrine assumed its most imposing form and proportion."[5] The shrine "was by far the most conspicuous object in the church," and called forth the choicest art not only of the goldsmith and the enameller, but also of the architect and the carver.

Gold coinage.

Lastly, of no small importance in the history of metallic art, even if of greater importance in the history of commerce, was the fact of the reintroduction of a gold coinage into western Europe with the *Augustale* of Frederick II., the Ecu d'or and Agnel of St. Louis IX., and the Fiorino

[1] Lübke, *l.c.*, p. 126.

[2] "Le treizième siècle est la belle époque pour l'art de l'orfèvre." Lecoy de la Marche, *Le treiz. siècle art.*, p. 300.

[3] Lecoy de la Marche, *l.c.*, ch. xii.

[4] Lindsay, *l.c.*, ii. 287 n. *Cf.* J. T. Perry, *Medieval Art-work in Copper, Brass, etc.*, 1910.

[5] R. J. King, "The Great Shrines of England," p. 223, in his *Sketches and Studies*, London, 1874. *Cf.* p. 227.

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d'oro (gold florin) of Florence. They were all struck about the middle of the thirteenth century, and among them the Fiorino acquired a very great vogue.[1]

The needle and the loom.

Nor were the needle and the loom behind the hammer and the anvil. The manufacture of real, that is, woven, tapestry was largely cultivated during this age, and about the close of the thirteenth century, Agnes, Abbess of Quedlinburg, and her nuns wrought a piece of tapestry representing the "marriage of Mercury and Philology," from Marcianus Capella. According to Kugler, while the style of the production is unequal, still in "parts—in spite of some Byzantine reminiscences—it rises to such perfection of form, such harmony of proportion, such grandeur, and such knowledge of drapery, that one looks on it as the manifestation of an art at its zenith."[2]

Our countrywomen had long been famous for their skill at needlework. William of Poitiers, the chaplain and biographer of William the Conqueror, found that "the women of the English nation were remarkably skilful with the needle."[3] As a consequence, Pope Innocent IV. observed that the gold embroidery work (*aurifrisia*) worn by the English prelates was quite unique, and sent to England for some wherewith to decorate his own chasubles and copes.[4] From extant remains, however, it does not appear that the world's prize piece of needlework was executed in England. It appears to be the general verdict that that distinction belongs to the well-known cope of Ascoli.[5]

[1] *Cf.* Hazlitt, *The Coinage of the European Continent*, p. 183; Wallon, *St. Louis*, pp. 504-5; and Stanley Lane Poole, *Coins and Medals*, London, 1892.

[2] Ap. Müntz, *A Short Hist. of Tapestry*, p. 88, London, 1885.

[3] *Gesta Willelmi*, p. 1267, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149. "Anglicæ nationis feminæ multum acu et auri textura . . . valent."

[4] Mat. Par., *Chron. Maj.*, an. 1246, iv. pp. 546-7, R. S. As usual, that mean monk takes occasion from this to rail at "the evident avarice of the Roman Church." [5] Walsh, *l.c.*, pp. 14, 115, 134.

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The universities.

Though the arts were at this time, for the most part, taught in the workshops and in the primitive studios of the artists, the sciences were taught in those centres of literary life which were created in this age, viz, the universities, and which like intellectual lighthouses have been the guides of learning ever since. It was during this epoch, when the temporal influence of the Popes was at its greatest height, that a very large number of the most prominent universities were founded. To this period may be assigned the universities of Salerno, Bologna, and Naples; of Paris, Montpellier, and Toulouse; of Oxford and Cambridge; and of Valladolid, Salamanca, and Lisbon-Coimbra;[1] and in the cases where these centres of culture had not been directly founded by a papal bull, but had sprung, so to speak, from the very soil itself, they afterwards secured from the Popes bulls to give their professors the right of being able to teach anywhere ("jus ubique docendi"), as did for instance even "the old archetypal universities themselves, Bologna and Paris, from Nicholas IV."[2] The recorded numbers of students attending these universities during the thirteenth century seem almost incredible; but they were merely one more sign of that mental activity of which we have found so much evidence.

Social and philanthropic works of this age.

But the stupendous energy of the men of these heroic days, inspired as it was by faith, was not content with founding places in which God and His works might be studied. They devoted themselves to His service with an ardour which was nothing short of fiery. It drove them to the Crusades in hundreds of thousands, and it drove them to unite the military spirit with piety in the great fighting Orders, in those of the Templars and the Hospitallers, of the Knights of the Sword, of the Knights of Calatrava,

[1] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, i. p. xxviii.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 12.

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and many other similar Orders in Germany, Spain, and Portugal.

It impelled men to renounce all they possessed, and, as humble followers of SS. Francis and Dominic, as Friars Minor and Friars Preachers, and as poor followers of a poor Master, to labour for the salvation of souls, especially for those of the poor.[1] It impelled, moreover, these earnest friars, these children of the new Orders, in their zeal for souls, not merely to leave their own homes or their own country, but, with their lives in their hands, to go into heathen lands. This fertile century witnessed a great outburst of missionary zeal on the part of the friars whose travels in the East incidentally did so much towards the increase of geographical knowledge by the records of their journeys which they committed to writing.[2]

Love for Jesus Christ, who had been treated as the "outcast of men," led people not merely to imitate the example of Innocent III., and to found thousands of city hospitals,[3] but it induced crowds of noble men and women to devote themselves to those most dreaded of outcasts, the lepers.[4] The poor, the afflicted, and the helpless generally were regarded as the brethren of Jesus Christ whom it was an honour to serve, whose feet were washed by Popes and emperors, and whose sores were tended by the delicate

[1] *Cf.* the charming paper of the Rev. A. Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, London, 1889.

[2] The friars were followed by such laymen as Marco Polo; and hence this age is known as that of the great travellers. *Cf.* De Backer, *L'extrême Orient*, p. 3.

[3] Though hospital founding had been freely practised in the early days of the Gregorian Renaissance (*cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 7, and x. p. 306), Virchow attributes the foundation of city hospitals to the foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome by Innocent III. *Cf.* Walsh, *The Popes and Science*, pp. 10 f., 249 ff., 256.

[4] *Cp.* Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, pp. 289, 291. Hence, by the end of the thirteenth century, *lepers* were a rapidly disappearing class. *Ib.*, p. 287.

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hands of queens. They were not looked upon as paupers to be *sterilised* out of existence; they were reminders of Christ, and of Him crucified.

Wherever there was work to be done for the poor and helpless, men were ready for the love of God to do it. It was found, for instance, that rivers, as a serious obstacle to communication, in many cases affected the poor very considerably and very detrimentally. Accordingly, in the second half of the twelfth century, there sprang up the Order of the Friars Pontiff or Bridge Friars. They maintained hospices at the fords of the chief rivers, and devoted themselves, with the approval of the Holy See,[1] to the building of bridges.

Trade and commerce.

This prodigious activity in all the arts, the gigantic enterprises of the Crusades, and the increasing centralisation of Church government, begot, and fostered, with their own advance, a great development of trade and commerce. The despatch of business was greatly facilitated, as we have already noted, by the reintroduction of a gold coinage; and the extensive monetary transactions of the Holy See gave a great impetus to the spread during this period of the system of banking which proved so potent a means for facilitating international trade.[2]

[1] Clement III. in 1189 approved of the brotherhood. *Cf.* Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 38 f.; the pretty legend of Bénézet, ap. *Rev. des quest. hist.*, t. xxiii. (1878), p. 555 ff., and Grégoire, *Recherches historiques sur les congrégations hospitalières des frères pontifes*, Paris, 1818.

[2] Though not too carefully done, the *Studi e documenti di storia del diritto* of G. Arras, Firenze, 1901, furnishes a series of notes on the relations of Italian bankers to the Holy See in the thirteenth century. Jordan's brief paper, *Le Saint-Siège et les Banquiers Italiens*, Bruxelles, 1895, deals with the relations towards them of Clement IV. in particular. *Cf.* also G. Schneider, *Die finanziellen Beziehungen der florentinischen Bankiers zur Kirche von* 1285 *bis* 1304, Leipzig, 1899; *English Hist. Rev.*, July 1900, p. 575; and E. A. Bond, *The Italian Moneylenders of the Middle Ages*, ap. *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. (1840).

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During this unifying century also the firm establishment of guilds secured at once the best means of promoting the progress of the arts and crafts, and of business and professional pursuits, and of protecting the different working members of the community from the oppressive hands of the powerful. "It was in the thirteenth century," so modern historians tell us,[1] "that our municipal institutions became consolidated, and trade guilds attained to full possession of the privileges which secured the *craftsmen* against the tyranny of the burgher class."[2]

What we may call an international guild also came into existence about the middle of the thirteenth century. This was the famous *Hanseatic League.* It took its name from the old German word *Hansa*, a union or confederacy, was a German creation, and consisted of the union of some eighty German cities situated on the sea or having communication with it by water. Its object was the protection of trade against pirates and robbers. The city of Lubeck was the head of the League, which had

[1] Gardiner and Mullinger, *Introduction to English Hist.*, p. 277.

[2] "The early English gild was an institution of local self-help which, before poor-laws were invented, took the place, in old times, of the modern friendly or benefit society; but with a higher aim, while it joined all classes together in a care for the needy and for objects of common welfare, it did not neglect the forms and the practice of religion, justice, and morality." Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. xiv, London, 1870. The guilds may be divided into religious (social) guilds and craft guilds, which later sprang from the town-guilds or guild merchants. The power of the guilds in the free cities of Italy may be estimated from the fact that the names of the priors of the trades or guilds often figure among the signatures affixed to treaties. They appear, for instance, for the first time in a treaty of 1204 between Florence and Siena. E. Staley, *The Guilds of Florence*, p. 41, London, 1906. *Cf.* Ditchfield, *The City Companies of London*, London, 1904. The thirteenth century (1255) was also a turning-point in the history of the Roman guilds. Thenceforth they had written constitutions. *Cf.* E. Rodocanachi, *Les Corporations Ouvrières à Rome*, Paris, 1894.

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four chief factories in London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod, and which won for itself considerable trading privileges in the countries where these factories were situated, and which entered into commercial treaties with many towns in France, Spain, Italy, and Sicily. The influence of the League soon became very great, and was for many generations of the highest benefit to the cause of civilisation.[1] It had to a large extent owed its existence and certainly its great power to the weakness engendered in the central Government in Germany during the thirteenth century by its struggle with the Papacy. But if the League was indebted to the weakness of the supreme authority for its influence, it certainly in no small degree supplied a remedy for the deficiencies of that authority.

The men and women of this age.

Finally, if this age, the glories of which we have now enumerated at some little length, was great in the deeds which were done in it, and in the works of mind and hand and heart which were produced in it, it was great in the men who made it, and who were in turn fashioned by it. At the head of Christendom, at the head of the European Commonwealth, as well on its spiritual as on its temporal side, were magnificent figures. Alexander III. and Barbarossa, Innocent III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and Frederick II., Rudolf of Hapsburg,[2] and Boniface VIII.[3]

[1] *Cf.* C. Walford, *An Outline Hist. of the Hanseatic League*, ap. *Transacts. of the English Hist. Soc.*, vol. ix., 1881; and Miss H. Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*, in *The Story of the Nations* Series.

[2] Strictly speaking, he was not an emperor, as he was never crowned.

[3] Gregorovius, *Rome*, v., pt. ii. p. 609, notes that "of the eighteen Popes who reigned between 1198 and 1303, the greater number were learned men, and no less educated were the cardinals. . . . Innocent III., Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Urban IV., John XXI., Nicholas IV., and Boniface VIII. would have been prominent in any circumstances by reason of their learning."

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will for ever shed lustre on the papal and imperial crowns. Richard Cœur de Lion, Edward I., the English Justinian, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis IX. in France, St. Ferdinand III. of Castile and Aragon, and Alfonso X. in Spain, Saladin and Jingis or Chingis Khan in the East are Royal names which will never cease to be household words in their countries. Will the devotees of the sciences and the arts ever forget the great names in those subjects which we have just recorded? And if lovers of literature will never forget Dante, neither men nor women will ever cease to think of Queen Blanche of Castile, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and St. Clare, "the little flower" of St. Francis, as she called herself.

The Popes in this age.

In the midst of all this splendid activity in the realms of mind and matter, at the apex of this glorious society of the Commonwealth of Europe in which so much was being done for the glory of God and the everlasting benefit of mankind, were the Popes of Rome. Men of character and of virtue, men of learning, and, if you will, men full of a fine ambition to guide the souls of men, whether by temporal or spiritual means, to a higher life, the Popes of this age acted everywhere, and on everything. No place, however remote, escaped the beneficent influence of their letters or of their legates. In great affairs and in small was their action felt, ever encouraging the good, the beautiful, and the true, and ever combating ignorance and vice. To them did all men turn in their distress. To them for consolation turned broken-hearted fathers, like our own Henry II. when flouted by his rebellious sons; to them for support and help turned outraged women whose rights and affections had been cruelly trampled upon, like the Danish queen of Philip Augustus, who could but cry out, "Mala Francia, Roma, Roma!" They were the refuge of the afflicted of every class, whether cleric or lay. They were the judges of last

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Two deacons, Wells Cathedral.
From Prior and Gardner's *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*.
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resort, the final arbiters of all cases whether ecclesiastical or civil. Their supreme spiritual influence was founded on the universal belief among Christians that they were the successors of St. Peter, and heirs of the power of Christ, and their unique temporal position was the natural outcome of the feudal system. It is true that they themselves ever preached the doctrine of the "two swords," the doctrine of the two independent powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, each supreme in his own domain. But, after all, the feudal system required that every man should acknowledge a superior. And to every Christian it was obvious that the Vicar of Christ was the head of the body Christian of Christendom, and, though his sphere of action was primarily that of the soul, it was necessary, from the very fact that the soul is superior to the body, that he should be recognised as the highest authority in the Christian Commonwealth. The supreme civil power could not be exercised except by the one whom he had crowned. If, then, it were ever necessary to judge the highest civil authority or its doings, the Pope of Rome was evidently the one who had a right to do it. He assuredly had no superior; but the same could not be said of anyone else. To him then must the final decision of every dispute be referred. Nor can there be any doubt that, in the main, the Popes showed themselves worthy to be the Lord Chief Justices of Christendom, else never would that unique position have been so universally accorded to them. They were, indeed, as Innocent III. so truly called them—"the very foundation of Christendom—*fundamentum totius Christianitatis.*"

The other side of the picture.

But, unfortunately, though the *Rose* which blossomed during this productive period was, in the main, *clean*, nay, even though it was, from many points of view, even golden, it was far from perfect. If the lights were high, the

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shadows were deep. There were many very ugly spots on the beautiful face of this generation, and the ages of faith were disfigured by heresy and unbelief,[1] and the last years of the thirteenth century were big with the signs of decadence. Indeed, were we to interpret too literally the words of some[2] of the great men of this epoch, those, for instance, of our countrymen Adam Marsh,[3] or of his friend, the model bishop Grosseteste, we might imagine that there was no Rose at all, but only thorns and briars. Writing to his clergy in the very middle of the thirteenth century, this excellent prelate said: "Touched with grief of heart within, and tormented even to the marrow of our spirit, we plainly perceive that evils so manifold, so grave, so hideous, so foul, so atrocious, so criminal, so wicked, so sacrilegious are so generally to be found in the people redeemed by the Blood of Christ, owing to the neglect of rulers, to the carelessness of pastors, and, what alas! is more matter for weeping than for writing, owing to the bad example and scandal that is everywhere rampant, and shamelessly spreading on all sides. Hence with despair we are altogether undone, and we have

[1] *Cf.* Vaughan, *Life of St. Thos. of Aquin*, i. pp. 43–4, for a sketch of the infidelity rampant in the court of the emperor Frederick II. At Paris in the early part of the thirteenth century, Amalric of Bena, and David of Dinant, misled by the false Arabic translations of Aristotle, were condemned for teaching Pantheism. *Cf.* Denifle, *Chartular. Univer. Par.*, i. 70–72, 79, 81 f.

[2] Jacques de Vitry († 1240) draws a very gloomy picture of the morals of Europe in the second book of his *Historia Hierosolymitana*: "The virtues were in exile: vice was everywhere rampant," ii. c. 1. "The wickedness, the weakness, and the ignorance of the prelates were the causes of all the evils," ii. c. 4. In chapter six there is a very graphic picture of vice in Paris, especially among the students. *Cf.* the *Hierapigra* of Giles of Corbeil († *c.* 1224), large extracts from which are published in Viellard's biography, *Gilles de Corbeil.*

[3] *Cf.* his epp., ap. *Mon. Francisc.*, R. S. In ep. 43, p. 147, he thinks the day of judgment may be at hand, "propter tam execratissimam tam flagitiorum quam facinorum immanitatem, his diebus sceleratissimis . . . inundantem."

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absolutely no idea where to begin to apply a remedy to these evils." [1]

Of course there were many great scandals in this age as in every other. "It must needs be that scandals come," and it was Grosseteste's business as a bishop to look for them in order to root them out. Had there been no widespread evils, there would not have been any necessity for great councils at Rome to strive to effect great reforms. Had there been no gross ignorance,[2] vice, and misery there would have been no need of the learned doctors of the Church to write in its defence, no need of the Franciscans and Dominicans and the other Orders to combat evil of soul and body.

But not only were there diseased members of the flock; many of the shepherds were tainted likewise.[3]

[1] Ep. 130, p. 440 of *Rob. Grosseteste epistolæ*, R. S. A modern author, Mr. G. G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, has gone into the highways and byways to rake together all the dirt of this epoch. He appears to forget there are police-court cases in plenty, and coarseness in abundance in every age. A reviewer of this book in the *Saturday Review*, Nov. 24, 1906, compares its author to a cock crying out on the dunghill it has scratched together: "Behold how the whole land stinketh! Not the whole land, but only the province of which Mr. Coulton has made himself master, to the lordship of which he is most heartily welcome." However, there is some valuable material in the book, and it is perhaps calculated to prevent the taking of exaggerated views about the thirteenth century.

[2] Scholastic theology and philosophy had their weak sides. They tended to lose themselves in words. To this and to a tendency to hair-splitting they owed their ultimate collapse. "Men at this time," says the *classical* critic John of Salisbury, "waste their whole lives in controversy, even disputing in the public streets," etc. *Metalogicus*, ii.

[3] One cause of this was the decay of monastic schools and episcopal seminaries (where the young aspirants to the priesthood were trained under the eye of the bishop), owing to the growth of the universities, where the young student was exposed to the greatest moral dangers. Jacques of Vitry, *Hist. Hierosol.*, ii. c. 6, says that the prostitutes of Paris were so brazen-faced as almost forcibly to drag into their houses the clerics who passed in front of them; and that in the same house whilst masters were holding classes in the upper portion, prostitutes were plying their infamous trade in the lower part.

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Satires against the clergy and the Pope.

There was a great deal of the pride of life among many of the prelates, and there was much ignorance, worldliness, and even vice among all ranks of the clergy. It was in this age that there began to appear ribald satires on clerics, though they were not so common then as they became afterwards in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Sometimes, as in the case of the troubadours, they were not the outcome of a just indignation against men who, while they ought to have been the salt of the earth, were an additional source of its corruption, but they were attempts to decry those who opposed their loose morals. Hence, considering he was of the immoral court of Frederick II., one is not surprised to hear the troubadour, William Figueira, crying out: "Rome, you appear to have the simplicity of the lamb, but in fact you have the rapacity of the wolf. Sprung from a viper, you are a crowned serpent, and the devil loves you as his dear friend."[1]

Golias and the Goliardi.

The chief diatribes against the Popes in this age were the work of the Goliards (Goliardi), the disciples or the *familia* of an imaginary bishop *Golias*. The poems of *Golias* have been attributed to Walter Map, a favourite of Henry II., but on a vague tradition only; and, as we shall see presently, the words of his friend, Giraldus Cambrensis show that he certainly was not their author. Mr. Wright, the editor of the poems of *Walter Map*,[2] says "there are

[1] Ap. Anglade, *Les Troubadours*, p. 194. The poems of Will. F. have been edited by E. Levy, Berlin, 1880. The sour Peire Cardenal, whilst raging against the clergy, generally leaves the see of Peter alone; but in his *Gesta* ("Car motz homes fan vers"), wherein he attacks everybody, the Pope himself is not spared—so at least says Anglade, p. 316. *Cf.* J. F. Rowbotham, *Troubadours*, p. 300 f.

[2] *The Latin Poems of Walter Map*, Camden Society, 1841. This is a companion volume to Wright's *Political Songs of England*, C.S., 1839 (from the reign of King John to that of Edward II.), and to his *Political Poems and Songs*, 2 vols., 1859, R. S. (from the accession of Edward III. to that of Richard III.).

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only two pieces in the whole collection which afford *any* grounds for admitting his claim to be their author, and even those are only allowed to go under his name because traditions of comparatively old standing give them to him."[1]

The *poems* of Golias and his fraternity are excessively gross and lewd. Many of them are coarse defences of clerical marriage, and some of them are directly aimed at the Papacy. In the so-called *Apocalypse of Bishop Golias* we read:

"Est Leo pontifex summus, qui devorat,
Qui libras sitiens libros impignorat."[2]

Of these lines there exists an old English translation which runs thus:

"The lyon is the Pope, hee swallows, yawnes,
Hee thirsts for gold, and golden bookes hee pawnes."[3]

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[1] P. xx f. [2] Ap. the *Lat. Poems*, p. 7.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 284. We give one or two more specimens of the *poetical* abuse of the Popes indulged in by these nameless satirists, who were, for the most part, loose clerics.

From *Contra ambitiosos et avaros*:

"Dic, papa, dic, pontifex, nobilis sponsæ dos,
Cur mores redarguis et sermones fœdos?
Cum sis pejor pessimis, hœdus inter hœdos
Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinædos.

Roma metit omnia quadam falce manuum,
Recipit ab omnibus, nulli reddit mutuum;
De te Roma sonuit illud non ambiguum,
Alterius siccas pocula, nemo tuum."

Ib., pp. 155-6. *Cf. De mundi cupiditate*, pp. 167-170.

From *De ruina Romæ*:

"Plumbum quod hic (Rome) informatur,
Super aurum dominatur
Et massam argenteam;
Æquitatis phantasia
Sedet, teste Zacharia,
Super bullam plumbeam."

Ib., p. 219. *Cf. De Diversis ordinibus hominium. Ib.*, p. 229. *Cf.* among the *Carmina Burana* the Gospel according, not to the evangelist

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Such scurrilous invectives against Rome and the Popes called forth the energetic condemnation of distinguished contemporaries. Giraldus Cambrensis stoutly rebuts the charge of avarice brought in them against the Popes of his time. He points out that, as worthy successors of Constantine and Charlemagne were not forthcoming, the Church was robbed and reduced to poverty. Then, because "the whole world," which went to visit "the threshold of the Apostles" (*apostolorum limina*), had most naturally and properly to contribute largely to the support "of the supreme pastor and ruler of souls," charges of avarice were then brought against him. For, says the Welshman, "all the Churches throughout the world are bound in every way to minister to the spiritual Roman Empire, *i.e.*, to the chief Church of Peter, which with Christ at the helm cannot suffer shipwreck; and they must supply it, as their head, with all things which are necessary."[1] Giraldus then proceeds to denounce, as the principal author of the diatribes against Rome, "a certain parasite of our times named Golias" who, because wholly given up to gluttony, ought rather to be called Gulias.[2] This man, not wanting in

Mark, but "according to the silver Mark." The *Carmina*, a collection of students' Latin songs made probably in the thirteenth century, were called *Burana* because they were found in the famous monastery of Benediktbeuren. J. A. Symonds' *Wine, Women, and Song*, London, 1884, gives us in English verse a translation of many of these songs. The *Carmina* have been edited by Schmeller, Breslau, 1904.

[1] "Imperio Romano spirituali, scilicet ecclesiæ principali namque Petri, quæ Christo gubernante naufragium pati non potest, ecclesiæ per orbem cunctæ per omnia, tamquam capiti, ministrare necessiariaque suppeditare tenentur." *Speculum ecclesiæ*, iv. c. 13 ff., p. 288, ap. *Opera*, iv. p. 287 ff., R. S.

[2] The text, as the following extract will show, repeats Golias, but the sense requires that the second proper name should be Gulias: "Item parasitus quidam, Golias nomine, nostris diebus gulositate pariter et lecacitate famosissimus, qui Golias (Gulias?) melius quia *gulæ* et crapulæ per omnia deditus dici potuit, literatus tamen affatim, sed nec bene morigeratus nec bonis disciplinis informatus, in papam et

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literary ability, but destitute of character, has, continues Giraldus, in the most impertinent style "vomited forth" a number of well-known (*famosa*) songs against the Pope and the Roman Curia. After quoting for denunciation verses from some of these songs, the critic strongly condemns their author, and says that, if the Roman Curia were to inflict corporal punishment on the perpetrators of these productions, they would deserve not the gallows but the stake. Especially is he indignant at those who have the temerity to rail at "the successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the supreme ruler of souls on earth."[1] It is his conviction that this habit of reviling the Popes has grown greater on account of their mildness in dealing with it.[2] Hence, he concludes, are the Popes always clad in red, because they are ever on fire with divine love, and ever ready for martyrdom.[3]

curiam Romanam carmina famosa pluries et plurima, tam metrica quam ridicula, non minus impudenter quam imprudenter evomuit." *Ib.*, c. 14, p. 291 f. He then proceeds to quote for condemnation: "Roma mundi caput est sed nil capit mundum," etc., part of the "Invectio contra avaritiam," printed in full by Wright, *Political Songs*, p. 14 ff. *Cf.* p. 402.

[1] *Ib.*, p. 293.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 16, p. 294 ff.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 295. "Quoniam et caritate fervidi igneque salutiferæ dilectionis medullitus accensi, necnon et omnibus horis ad martyrium prompti." As might be expected, there are some curiously different readings between the quotations from the *Invectio* as given by Giraldus, and as found in MS. by Wright. In the former, *e.g.*, we have: "Porta quærit; bulla quærit; papa quærit; cardinalis quærit; omnis quærit;

> Et si des, si quid uni deerit,
> Totum mare salsum est, tota causa perit."

In Wright we read:

> "Papa quærit, chartula quærit, bulla quærit,
> Porta quærit, cardinalis quærit, cursor quærit,
> Omnes quærunt; et si quod des uni deerit,
> Totum jus falsum est, tota causa perit."

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From the words of Giraldus we may conclude that these ribald attacks against the Papacy and the Roman Curia began in his time, that their chief author was a man of low character (hence certainly that his friend Walter Map had nothing to do with them), and that, as the work of anonymous scribes, they did not represent the opinions either of the responsible classes or of the masses. It must, moreover, always be borne in mind that these satirical attacks on the Papacy were but rarely aimed at the Popes themselves; they were usually, whether from motives of love or fear, only vaguely directed against *Rome*.[1]

Of course, all was not perfect at Rome. There was, perhaps, too much centralisation, and undoubtedly there was too much granting of exemptions, and, despite frequent reforms, too many of the officials of the Curia were open to bribes. But although men like St. Bernard openly censured the court of Rome for receiving too many appeals, the fact was that Rome could not well help itself. On the necessity of allowing appeals to Rome there has never been any doubt in the Church; and men will always go to that tribunal where they have the greatest hope of obtaining justice.[2] The universal appeal to Rome for

[1] Viellard, *Gilles de Corbeil*, pp. 245, 264.

[2] *Cf.* Peter de la Celle, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202, p. 405, and the words of the unfortunate Queen Ingeborg: "Cum sit omnium fides et votum, apostolorum principis successorem ecclesiam Dei disponendi potestatem in omnibus obtinere, eo securius ad eum sunt referenda quæ sunt iniquorum hominum depravata, quo frequentius ab impiis actibus eruuntur qui gratiam assequuntur et patrocinio fulciuntur." Ep. Ing., ap. *R. F. SS.*, t. xix., p. 314. *Cf.* another ep. Ing., ap. *ib.*, p. 321. One of our latest students on the Papal influences in the thirteenth century, speaking on "the Papacy as an appeal court," says with indisputable force: "This development (of appeals to Rome) over the whole area of Europe, like the parallel development of feudalism some three centuries earlier, means that it was a living growth from below, not a mechanical structure superimposed from above." A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, p. 45.

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justice is Rome's amplest justification. The Popes may at times have been slow in passing sentence; they may at times have given a verdict more in consequence of political pressure than of evidence; and they may at times, swayed by personal considerations rather than by those of abstract justice, have issued decisions not in accordance with the right. But such verdicts were rare, and had little or no influence on the universal feeling that justice was to be had at Rome.

Much that has doubtless no little foundation in it has often been said in denunciation of the papal taxes, and especially of the methods by which they were collected. Still, in the first place, it has to be noted that "taxation, law-making, judicature, were not so much 'usurped' by Innocent III. and Gregory IX., as thrust upon them; and the same is true of the Church's supreme disciplinary power."[1] Then, it was but fair that, if Christendom wished the Papacy to be its final court of appeal, Christendom should contribute to the maintenance of that court, and, as we have already stated from Giraldus Cambrensis, subjects must give special support to their rulers in their great difficulties. Finally, the papal taxes were necessarily in the nature of extraordinary imposts, which, because also they bore hardly on a particular class, and had to be collected in an extraordinary manner, were allotted more than the ordinary share of that abuse which men shower on taxes in general.

Apart from the perennial troubles arising naturally from the weakness and wickedness of men which they always have to face, the greatest evils against which the Popes of this period had to contend were the secularising efforts of the emperors, and the demoralising tendencies of the Albigensian and kindred heresies. In the fierce fight they had to wage against these degrading influences which

[1] Smith, *Church and State*, p. 56.

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they ultimately, though at great loss of temporal authority, succeeded in arresting, it may be that at times their methods of warfare were not always blameless, or that their motives were always of the purest. But the cause for which they fought was the noblest, and their success was absolutely bound up with the advance of mankind. The Popes of this vigorous epoch, Innocent II. and the Englishman Hadrian IV., Alexander III. and Innocent III., Gregory IX. and Innocent IV., Urban IV. and Boniface VIII., were similar to the age in which they lived. They were striking figures, like the great Gothic cathedrals which they saw arising in their midst.[1] And they are as worthy of our admiration as are those glorious edifices, which, whatever faults of detail a minute criticism may find in them, will ever attract the admiring attention of men who have any taste for the majestic and the beautiful. Like the mass of enlightened men in their generation, no matter how much, through human frailty, they fell short of their ideals in practice, they were great because their ideals were great. And great ideals, like the pure bright rays of the sun, deprive even what is naturally sordid of much of its hideousness. If a good cause cannot alter the nature of an evil deed, it can at least gild it.[2]

[1] "Under Gregory VII. and Innocent III. the Papacy had won for itself the respect of mankind by its moral superiority, by the fair and unimpassioned manner in which it decided disputes among the lay powers of the earth, by its rectitude of purpose, and its nobility of principle. . . . It was secure above all in the high character of the Popes, in their political ability and discretion no less than in their conscientiousness and virtue."—Kitts, *In the Days of the Councils*, p. 17, London, 1908.

[2] The recent writer just quoted (Smith, *Church, etc.*), though perhaps unduly impressed with the abuses of papal government, is "profoundly stirred to admiration of the machinery and organisation of the Papacy; its enormous superiority, not merely as a religious centre, but as the centre of law and government, its all-pervading activity and almost infinite potentialities; and, finally, the absolute and literal

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Let then those who are so minded have no eye but for the weaknesses and shortcomings of noble characters! For ourselves, without endeavouring to cover up an ugly gargoyle, or cut out from view a maimed arch or a broken tower, it shall forthwith be our object to strive to set in true perspective the magnificent array presented by the Papacy of the age we have so long been contemplating.

acceptance of it by the highest minds as the veritable oracle and tribunal of God," p. 1 f. "The Papacy, taking it all in all, was the greatest potentiality for good that existed at the time (the early thirteenth century), or perhaps that has ever existed," p. 6.

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Argent, 3 fesses, wavy azure.[1]

INNOCENT II.

A.D. 1130–1143.

Sources.—The *Life* of Innocent II. in the *L. P.* (ii. 379 ff.) is the work of Cardinal Boso, master of the apostolic chamber, or treasurer (*camerarius*), under Hadrian IV. and Alexander III. (1154–1178).[2] In its composition he has made constant use of the documents of the pontifical archives, sometimes citing them *verbatim*, as in the case of the extracts he gives from the acts of the Lateran council (1139), but more frequently using them as the base of his narrative, as, for instance, in what he tells us about the conduct of the antipope Anacletus, or the council of Pisa (1135). While he seems to have carefully reproduced the information at his command, he appears to have known how at times to refrain from putting down all he knew, when such knowledge

[1] It was in the twelfth century that the use of coats of arms became common; and, as those of the Popes are, from this period onwards, known with a considerable approach to accuracy, we shall henceforth give them, generally on the authority of Leuridan, *Armorial des Papes*, Lille, 1907. His researches must correct the works of Mgr. Barbier de Montault, *Le Pape*, p. 356 ff., Paris, 1890, and of Woodward, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, p. 158 ff., Edinburgh, 1894; while Leuridan himself must be controlled for certain Italian Popes by P. Frassoni, *Essai d'Armorial des Papes*, Rome, 1906; and for some few French ones by articles in the *Revue de l'art chrétien*, July and Nov. 1908, pp. 254 ff., and 409 respectively.

[2] *Vide supra*, vol. viii. pp. 2, 139.

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was distasteful; and, in his account of the establishment of the Roman commune (1143), he is at no pains to conceal that, like St. Bernard, he has a very low opinion of "the Roman people."

Much light is thrown on the career of Innocent II. by the letters and the various biographers of St. Bernard.[1] The most important biography of St. Bernard is the *Vita Prima* of Migne (*P. L.*, t. 185). It was the work of three authors. William, abbot of St. Thierry from 1120 to 1135, a great friend of the saint, was prevented by death (†1147 or 8) from writing more than the first book. The second book, treating of the schism of Anacletus, was written by Ernaud, or Ernald, de Bonneval, another of his intimate friends. Books three to five came from the pen of Geoffrey of Auxerre, his secretary, who was also the author of the first collection of his master's letters, and of a compilation of documents regarding him (*Collectanea*, *Fragmenta*), sometimes known as the *Vita Tertia* of St. Bernard. Various miracles of the saint, especially those wrought in 1146 in Germany and other countries on the occasion of his preaching the second crusade, are set forth by different authors in books six and seven. His other biographers have drawn almost exclusively upon the authors of the *Vita Prima*, and hence are only of secondary value.

The *Chronicle* of the learned bishop Otto of Frising (*b.*, *c.* 1111, †1158) is now becoming more useful. Otto's high birth (he was uncle of the Emperor Frederick I.), his position in the Church, and the part he played in the politics of the day, gave him every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the history of his time. Availing himself of his chances, he wrote, besides his *Chronicle* (ed. Pertz, *in usum scholarum*, Hanover, 1867), the *Gesta Friderici Imp.* to the year 1156 (ed. Waitz, *in usum scholarum*, Hanover, 1884), at the request of the Emperor himself.

In the *Neues Archiv*, viii., 1883, pp. 191–3, a poem may be read by a partisan of Anacletus. It is a bitter denunciation of some follower of Innocent, possibly Ulger, bishop of Angers. Its concluding lines will furnish a key to the whole:

> "Urbis Roma caput, si non ulciscitur istud
> Que caput orbis erat, cauda sit et pereat."

[1] *Vide supra*, vol. viii. p. 229.

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Vol. clxxix. of the *Pat. Lat.* contains 598 letters of Innocent II., 14 letters of various people to him, and 51 of the antipope, Anacletus. By far the greater number of Innocent's *Letters* are privileges to monasteries.

Modern Works.—E. Amélineau (*St. Bernard et le schisme d'Anaclet II.*, 1130–8) has written a good and full account of the schism of Anacletus ap. *Rev. des quest. histor.*, Paris, 1881, p. 47 ff., but it is not so accurate as the more recent account in Vacandard's *Vie de St. Bernard.* On all the Popes of this section (*The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*), see Cherrier, *Hist. de la lutte des Papes et des Empereurs de la maison de Souabe*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., Paris, 1858. It is a clear and interesting work if not quite up to date. Balzani's *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*, London, 1889, is an excellent little manual.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Emperors and Kings of the Romans.	Eastern Emperors.	Kings of England.
Lothaire II., 1125–1138.	John II. (Comnenus), 1118–1143.	Henry I., 1100–1135.
Conrad III., 1138–1152.	Manuel I. (Comnenus), 1143–1180.	Stephen, 1135–1154.

Kings of France.

Louis VI., the Fat, 1108–1137.
Louis VII., the Young, 1137–1180.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ELECTION OF INNOCENT II. AND OF ANACLETUS.

An election compact.

ON the death of Honorius II. the Church was thrown into confusion, not, on this occasion, by the imperious will of a German sovereign, but by the ambition either of individual members of the Roman Church or of their families.

Pierleone II.

Whilst Honorius was still alive, it became common knowledge that "a certain Peter was scheming to obtain the Papacy."[1] This "certain Peter" belonged to a family of Jewish extraction which had become very powerful in Rome through the conversion of Peter's grandfather.[2] The convert had been baptized by St. Leo IX., took his name, and, because of his "learning," not to say, because of his "riches," acquired great influence in the Roman curia. He became one of the mainstays of Hildebrand in his fight for the Church's independence. Some of his descendants, for a time at least, kept their Jewish appearance,[3] and

[1] Peter "qui *seculariter* ad papatum videbatur aspirare." *Hist. Maurin.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 39, or ed. Mirot, 1909, in Picard's series *Collection de Textes.* This is a well-informed source regarding the beginnings of the schism of Anacletus.

[2] "Fuit hic Petrus (Cardinal Peter—Pierleone II.—afterwards the antipope Anacletus) Petri filius; filii Leonis. Leo vero a Judaismo pascha faciens ad Christum a Leone (IX.) baptizari et ejus nomine meruit insignari." *Ib.* It is this source that ascribes Leo's influence to his great learning.

Leo (baptized by Leo IX.).

Pierleone I. (the warder of the castle of St. Angelo, †June 2, 1128).

Pierleone II. (cardinal, afterwards the antipope Anacletus).

Amélineau is mistaken in calling the antipope the son of the convert Leo (p. 48).

[3] Ordericus Vitalis (*H. E.*, xii., c. 21) speaks of one of the Pierleoni in 1119 as "a young man of dark but pallid complexion, who looked more

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maintained their power in the Jewish quarter which was on both sides of the Tiber about the island, and in which Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Rome (*c.* 1165) in the days of Pope Alexander III., "the spiritual head of all Christendom," found "about two hundred Jews."[1] One of the children of Leo, the founder of the family of the Pierleoni, was named Peter, and is known as Pierleone I. He soon acquired great power and reputation, and because, in the "investiture" quarrel, he showed himself "strenuous in arms, provident in council, and faithful to the Roman Church," he was entrusted with the custody of the castle of St. Angelo.[2] This naturally increased his importance, and he became "consul of the Romans." Among the very numerous offspring of Pierleone I. was another Peter, Pierleone II., the future antipope Anacletus II. The youthful Pierleone II. very early showed an inclination to study, and the better to indulge his propensity betook himself to Paris. When returning home, he decided to abandon the world, and became a monk of Cluny under Peter the Venerable.[3] But, at the request of his father,

like a Jew or a Saracen than a Christian, and who, though splendidly dressed, was deformed in person." By mistake some have supposed this Pierleone to have been the same as the one who became Anacletus II. He was a son of the convert Leo; for Ordericus says he was derided by the French "on account of the odium attached to his father, whom they regarded as a most iniquitous usurer"; and Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux (†1184), speaking of the same man (*Tract. de schismate orto post Honorii II. mortem*, c. 3), says, "inæstimabilem pecuniam multiplici corrogasset usura." He, however, notes (*ib.*) that the antipope preserved the Jewish type of face, "judaicam facie repræsentet imaginem." Arnulf's work (ap. *P. L.*, t. 201), written *c.* 1134, is a violent production. On the Pierleoni, *cf. Archivio Rom. di storia*, 1901, p. 253 ff., and 1904, p. 399 ff.

[1] *Itinerary*, p. 9, ed. Adler, London, 1907.

[2] *Hist. Maurin.*, *l.c.*

[3] *Ib. Cf. Vita Pet. Ven.*, c. 4, by his disciple Rudolf, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189, p. 20, and ep. 6, Anacleti, "in eo (Cluniac. monast.) monasticum habitum . . . sumpsi."

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Paschal II. called him to Rome, and made him cardinal-deacon of the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Calixtus II., following the example of his predecessor, made him cardinal-priest of S. Maria in Trastevere, then known as "the title of Calixtus" (December 1120). Having thus become one of the principal members of the Roman clergy, he was soon selected for important work, and in 1123 we find him in France, acting as legate of the Holy See. Sometimes even he was jointly commissioned with Cardinal Gregory, whom he was afterwards to oppose so bitterly.[1] Unfortunately, Pierleone's ambition grew with his prosperity, and his character fell as his position rose. That he was ambitious, and in his ambition sought the Papacy by the use of unlawful means, is certain. It is not merely his rival, Innocent II., who says that he had long been aspiring to the Papacy.[2] The assertion is made by independent witnesses.[3] He is also charged, on what is acknowledged to be satisfactory authority,[4] with being addicted to avarice and impurity.[5]

[1] *Cf. Hist. Maurin.*, *l.c.*; *Ann. Elnon.*, May 1124, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v.; *Ann. Blandin.*, an. 1123, ap. *ib.*, etc.

[2] Ep. 4, "Petrus Leonis qui papatum a longis retro temporibus affectaverat." *Cf.* ep. 5.

[3] *Cf.* the letters of Walter, archbishop of Ravenna, and of Hubert, bishop of Lucca, to St. Norbert, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 38 ff.; and of Manfred, bishop of Mantua, to the Emperor Lothaire, ap. Watterich, ii. 275 f. The last named, speaking from *personal experience* ("quod per memetipsum cognosco; rogatus enim ab illo et a fratribus ejus sæpenumero fui"), says that from the time of Pope Calixtus he had been engaged in trying to secure the Papacy for himself by bribery and flattery. See also Ernaud, *in vit. S. Bernardi*, c. 1, and *Chron. Maurin.*, *l.c.*

[4] Gregorovius concedes that "the reproach of ambition, avarice, and sensuality may justly be brought against him," though, with justice it may be hoped, he calls in question the accuracy of "the revolting picture" drawn of him by Arnulf and by Manfred, *Rome*, iv., pt. ii., p. 419.

[5] Manfred, *l.c.*, writes: "Qui licet . . . cardinalis esset, scorta, conjugatas, monachas, sororem propriam, etiam consanguineas . .

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An agreement among the cardinals.

Knowing, then, that there was one among their number who, though wholly unfit for the office, was prepared to use all means, whether fair or foul, to obtain the Papacy, the cardinals, or some influential ones among them, took steps to thwart him. When the demise of Honorius seemed imminent, the cardinals met together in the Church of St. Andrew, attached to the monastery wherein he lay dying. The assembled prelates agreed that no election should take place till after the Pope was buried (*insepulto Papa*), and to entrust to eight of their number the right of electing a successor to Honorius, when death should leave the See of Peter vacant. The eight who were thereupon chosen were two cardinal-bishops, three cardinal-priests, among whom was Pierleone himself, and three cardinal-deacons, among whom was Gregory, cardinal of St. Angelo, the future Innocent II. It was agreed that whoever was elected Pope by the eight or by the more worthy portion of them (*a parte sanioris consilii*) should be generally acknowledged as Supreme Pontiff. It was further decreed that whoever opposed their choice should be anathematised. Feeling that these resolutions were aimed at him, Pierleone protested that he would rather be drowned in the depth of the sea than be the cause of any scandal in the Church. To the like purport swore also, before the cardinals, certain lay representatives of the hostile families of the Pierleoni and the Frangipani.[1]

quoquo modo habere potuit, non defecit." *Cf.* Arnulf, *De schismate*, c. 3. *Cf.* the same author's *Invectiva*, c. 3, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. Even Peter the Venerable (Ep. ii. 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189) accuses him of "ambitio, cupiditas . . . simonia . . . homicidia . . . et adhuc deteriora, si qua esse possunt."

[1] These details are from the letter of Hubert. The letter of the party of Anacletus to Diego of Compostela also allows: "ut personæ octo eligerentur quæ de electione tractarent, et sequentis deberent Pontificis personam eligere." It, however, pretends that it was further arranged that, if the eight could not agree about a candidate, a vague

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Pierleone begins the schism.

The cardinal of S. Maria, however, showed how far he was in earnest by separating himself, along with Cardinal Jonathan, from the rest of the chosen electors before they could hold another meeting.[1] No sooner had Pierleone dissociated himself from the other cardinals who remained with the dying Honorius, than he began openly to make preparations with his numerous kinsfolk to possess himself of the Papacy. It was reported that Honorius was dead; and had not the dying Pontiff showed himself to the crowd of Pierleone's followers, they would have acclaimed their leader Pope forthwith.[2]

The election of Cardinal Gregory, Innocent II.

With this additional proof of his daring ambition before them, the remnant of the chosen eight resolved to act with promptitude. Accordingly, when about sunset on Friday, February 14, Honorius breathed his last, they caused his body to be temporarily interred during the night, or more probably in the early morning, in order to fulfil the very letter of the election compact. Then the six cardinals, who out of the chosen eight still remained in the monastery of St. Andrew, met together, and, despite the protest of one of their number, Peter of Pisa,[3] the

"some of the brethren" should be employed to help them to come to a decision: "aliqui de fratribus adhiberentur qui eos deberent in personam . . . concordare." This letter is given in the *Hist. Compost.*, iii. c. 23.

[1] The letter of Hubert. To judge from the letter to Diego just cited, their action would seem to have been connected with a dispute as to where the election should take place. It had been decided to hold it in the Church of St. Adrian, near the Capitol (the home of the Corsi), and the then fortified arch of Septimius Severus, on condition that the keys of the fortresses adjoining it were given into the hands of the cardinals. This arrangement was frustrated by the cardinal-bishops "who favoured the opposite party. Our party took this as a sign of bad faith, and so the larger and more influential section of the cardinals did not venture to return to the said monastery."

[2] Ep. of Hubert.

[3] At least such is the assertion of the letter of Anacletus's party to Diego, *l.c.*, n. 4, "Contradicente Cardinali S. Susanæ Pet. Pisano,

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other four elected as Pope their fifth colleague, Gregory, cardinal of St. Angelo.[1] It was to no purpose that Gregory resisted. The choice of the four was accepted not only by the more numerous portion of the whole number of cardinals who took part in the two elections, but by the most distinguished members of the whole body.[2] And it could the more easily have happened

qui tunc aderat." Our countryman, John of Salisbury, who severely condemns Anacletus, is full of regret for some of the stars whom he caused to fall from heaven, for Giles of Frascati (Tusculum) and for Peter of Pisa. "Quis nescit Ægidium Tusculanum? Quis Petrum Pisanum, cui nullus, aut vix similis alter erat in curia?" On the contrary, he has praise for Innocent "bonæ memoriæ . . . cujus vitam et felicitatem in se in ævum protendat Dominus." *Polycraticus*, viii. c. 23, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 812.

[1] Ep. of Hubert.

[2] "Gregorium . . . invitum et omnibus modis renitentem, cum religiosis viris episcopis, cardinalibus presbyteris, diaconibus et subdiaconibus in summum Pontificem elegerunt." Ep. Hubert. This statement of Hubert is supported by that of Walter of Ravenna, who also wrote to St. Norbert: "sicut audivimus et in veritate comperimus." Ep. Gualteri, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 39. See also the letter of the cardinals of Innocent's party to the Emperor Lothaire. Boso (*in vit. Inn., init.*) says that the more respectable portion of the cardinals adhered to Innocent: "Melior et sanior pars eidem Innocentio . . . adhæsit." The *Historia Compost.*, iii. c. 23, n. 1, says both the better and the more numerous section of the cardinals concurred in the election of Innocent: "major et melior pars cleri atque populi." So also say the anonymous Cistercian monk (*Chron.*, an. 1130, "Innocentio . . . a majori parte cardinalium prius electo"), and St. Bernard, ep. 125. It would seem that the greatest weight should be attributed to the evidence of men like Diego, who were quite impartial, and made special inquiries to find out the truth. However, if we compare Boso's list of the cardinals who always adhered to Innocent, and that of the cardinals who wrote to Lothaire on behalf of Anacletus (see Appendix), with such lists of the cardinals of that age as are available (ap. Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, p. 1180 ff.), it may be supposed, on the contrary, that, of those who were certainly cardinals in 1130, a few more, five or six, voted for Anacletus than for Innocent. But, as a matter of fact, we do not know for certain how many cardinals actually took part in the election either of Innocent or Anacletus. If, however, the total number of Anacletus's voters had been distinctly in excess of those

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that, of the total number of cardinals who actually took a part in the double election, the greater number voted for Gregory, because those cardinals who adhered to him were on the spot when his election was held, whereas those who had a share in the election of Anacletus must have been hastily summoned from all parts of the city.

After this, Gregory, now Innocent II., protected by the Frangipani, was solemnly escorted to the Lateran basilica; and, according to the letter of the schismatics to Diego, entered it just as the dead body of his predecessor was being brought in from the cloisters of St. Andrew's for final interment. Placed on the pontifical throne, Innocent received the homage of his followers; and then, taken to the monastery known as the Palladium on the Palatine,[1] was solemnly invested with the *pontificalia* of his immediate predecessors. All this, so the Emperor Lothaire was assured, was completed by about nine o'clock on the morning of February 15.[2]

who voted for Innocent, his partisans would not have failed to make much of the fact. No such attempt was made by them. We may then rest on the evidence of Diego, etc., and assume that in the respective elections of the two rivals more cardinals were present at that of Innocent than at that of Anacletus. At any rate, it is certain that not all those cardinals who signed the letter to Lothaire had voted for Anacletus. Giles of Frascati was absent from Rome at the time of the election; and some of the signatories had only been created cardinals by Anacletus himself. See his letter to Lothaire (?) or to Roger of Sicily (?). "Ordinationes cardinalium fecimus." Ep. 9, Anaclet., ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 700. Diego or his panegyrists (*Hist. C.*, iii. 25) declared that, to all who did not want to prop up truth by falsehood, it appeared clear that Innocent was canonically elected as the successor of Honorius. Gregorovius, whose account of this election is misleading, says (*Rome*, iv., pt. ii., p. 420) that it "was entirely contrary to law."

[1] Now marked by the little Church of St. Sebastian *alla Pallara*. *Cf.* vol. v. of this work, p. 96 f.

[2] Ep. of Innocent's party to Lothaire: "His vero circa horam tertiam rite peractis." The author of the *Chron. S. Andreæ*, iii. 37, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii., says that Honorius died at night, and that "pars quædam

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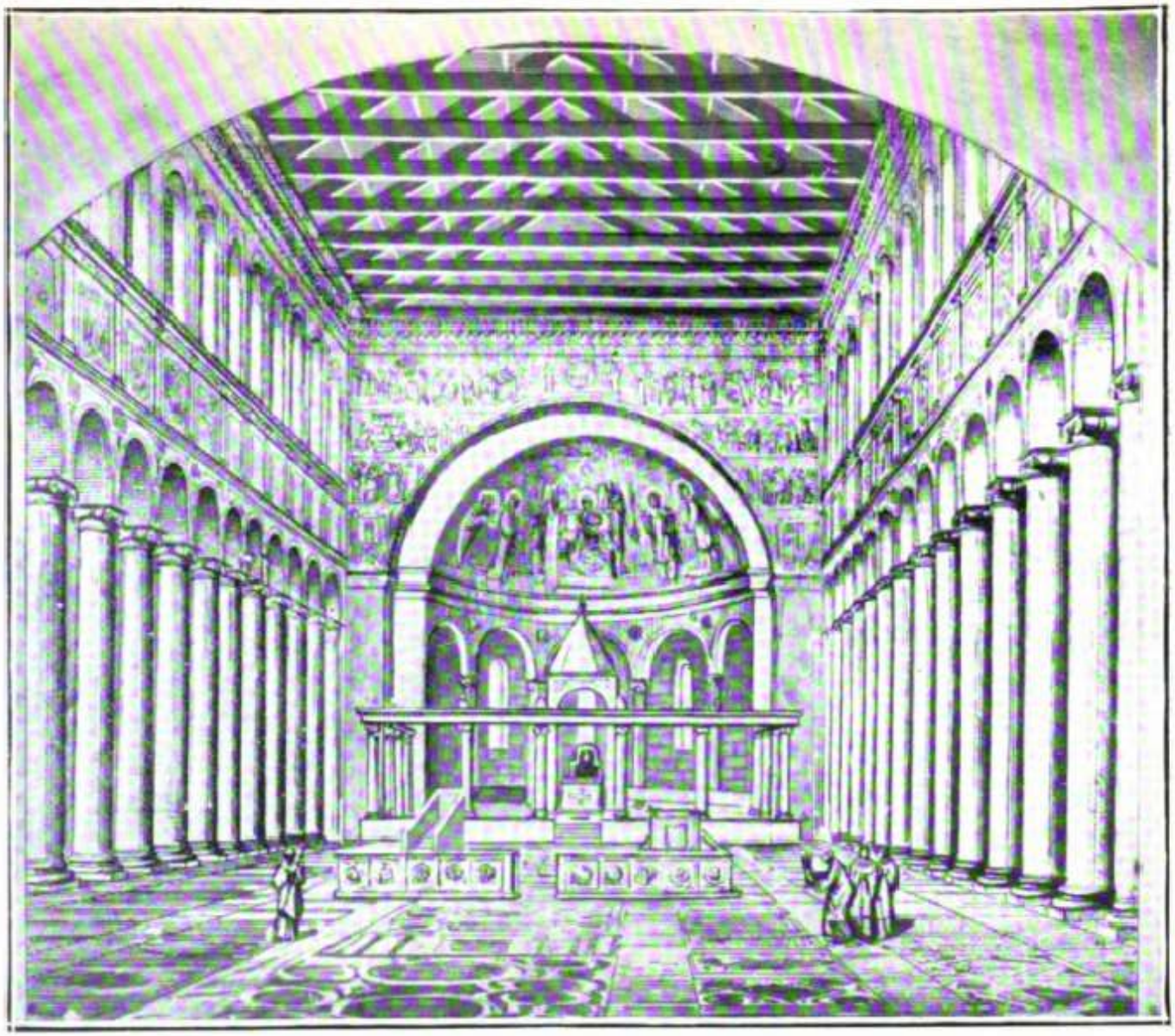

Rouhault de Fleury's reconstruction of the ancient Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore.
From Biasiotti, *La Basilica Esquilina di S. Maria.*

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Furious at being thus forestalled, Pierleone and his brothers, by a liberal use of money,[1] got together a number of the clergy, including many cardinals,[2] and a very large proportion of the influential laity,[3] and at twelve o'clock assembled in the Church of St. Mark, because, said Innocent's friends, "it was near the towers of his relatives"; because, said his enemies, "it was as it were the centre of the city."[4] No attempt was made to inquire into the validity of Innocent's election, but, amid the applause of his party, the cardinal-bishop of Porto invested Pierleone with the red mantle, and acclaimed him Pope Anacletus II., after that ambitious prelate had gone through the comedy of suggesting another candidate.[5]

Election of the anti-pope.

Two cardinals had now on the same day been saluted as Pope; but the claims of the candidates to that title were as different as their characters. About Cardinal

The two elections.

cardinalium mox in ipso crepusculo lucis quasi furtive (eum) sepelierunt, et unum ex suis, Gregorium, . . . in cathedra Romana constitunt."

[1] "Petrus Leonis . . . cum suis conspiratoribus . . . aliisque manifesto pretio conductis ecclesiam S. Marci . . . adiit." The letter just cited. *Hist. Compost.*, iii. 23, "Petri Leonis filius, Portuensem episcopum solum et alios schismaticos . . . per potentiam et nobilitatem suam, et paternæ pecuniæ abundantiam sibi ascivit, . . . quorum favore . . . se ab eis in Papam eligi fecit." *Cf. ib.*, c. 25. *Cf.* ep. Bernardi, 126, n. 8.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 9, n. 2. In any case the adherents of Anacletus were men of less mark in the Church than those of Innocent. *Cf.* ep. Bernardi, 126.

[3] The "election decree" drawn up by Anacletus's own party does not go into any precise detail as to his electors, but only says in general terms: "Convenientibus nobis in unum, ut moris est, id est sacerdotibus et levitis et reliquo clero et generali milicia ac civium universitate et cuncta generalitate . . . Romanæ urbis." *Commentarius electionis Anacleti II.*, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 418.

[4] "Turribus fratrum propinquam." Ep. Card. Innocent. "Locus quasi umbilicus Urbis." Ep. of the party of Anacletus to Lothaire.

[5] Epp. Huberti, Gualteri, Cardin. Innocent., Cardin. Anacleti, etc.; *Chron. Maurin.*, an. 1130; *Ann. Reicherspergenses*, an. 1130, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.; Suger, *in vit. Lud. VI.*, c. 31.

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Gregory (Innocent II.) many speak in the highest terms,[1] while his opponents have nothing to urge against him. But against Cardinal Pierleone many impartial men who knew him have much to say. He stands condemned on many serious counts, even by such a man as Peter the Venerable, under whom he had been a monk. Again, too, if the election of Gregory was hasty, it was the work of the majority of those who had been appointed to select a successor for Honorius,[2] and by the majority of the cardinal-bishops to whom, by the decree of Nicholas II., the first place in papal elections had been assigned. It had been effected before[3] that of Pierleone, and it was promptly ratified, so it would appear, by a majority of the total number of cardinals who took part in the two elections.[4] Besides, Innocent was consecrated by two out of the three

[1] "Virum honestum, moribus compositum" is he called by the cardinals who elected him. Ep. ad Lothar. "Virum sobrium, prudentem, castum, mansuetum, humilem," etc. Ep. Gualteri. Arnulf of Lisieux (*Tract. de schism.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201, p. 183 f.) gives a long description of the intellectual, moral, and physical qualities of Innocent. He tells of his average height, of his cheerful face which commanded respect and affection, of his sweet voice, and of the general integrity of his life from his youth upwards. So amiable was he that till the time of his election he had not an enemy. The fact that his opponents have nothing to say against him pleads eloquently in his favour. St. Bernard notes (ep. 127; *cf.* ep. 126, n. 13) that in the matter of Innocent's "blameless life and unblemished character, his enemies have not a word to say against them."

[2] It was on this ground especially that Innocent himself rested his claim to the Papacy. See his letter to the bishops and people of England, in which he says he had been made Pope, "creatum pontificem esse," by the election of the said four cardinals. Ep. in *Liber Landavensis*, p. 52, ap. Jaffé, 7407.

[3] "If there is in the Church a principle authentic and incontestable, it is that after the first election there is no second," wrote St. Bernard, ep. 126.

[4] This, as we have seen, is categorically stated by Archbishop Diego, who had sent two men to Rome to make special inquiries about the election. *Cf. Hist. Compost.*, iii. 21.

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cardinals to whom the right of consecrating the Popes was reserved, viz. by the bishops of Albano and Ostia. It was this fact, we are told, which influenced "the apostolic sees of Antioch and Jerusalem" to acknowledge Innocent.[1] The desire to save the Church from Pierleone must serve as the excuse for the indecent haste of Innocent's electors. And why it was desirable to save the Church from Pierleone may again be emphasised—this time in the words of St. Bernard. He tells us that, while everyone says and believes "that the life and character of our Pope Innocent are above any attack even of his rival, the character of Anacletus is not safe even from his friends."[2] "If," he continues, "what is commonly said of Anacletus be true, he is not fit to have the government of a single hamlet; if it is not true, it is none the less fitting that the head of the Church should be of good repute as well as of blameless life."[3] Finally, and it is St. Bernard again who is speaking: "even although the election of Innocent was conducted with too little solemnity, and not sufficiently according to ordinary formalities, as the enemies of unity contend, yet ought a second election to have been resolved upon before the manner of the former had been discussed, and before it had been quashed by a deliberate judgment? It is because no such investigation was attempted which obliges me to say that the factious persons are those who have hastened to lay their hands rashly upon a rash usurper, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Apostle: 'Lay hands suddenly on no man' (1 Tim. v. 22)."

[1] "Quia ipse (Innocent) duos de legitimis ordinatoribus secum habuit, Albanensem scilicet et Ostiensem." *Ann. Reichersperg.*, an. 1130, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. *Cf.* ep. Bernardi, 126, a very important letter for the question of the dual election. "Then as to the consecration of the person elected, was it not performed by the bishop of Ostia, to whom that function specially belongs?"

[2] Ep. cit., n. 13.

[3] *Ib.*, ep. 127.

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Hence Gerhoh, one of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of his day, who visited Rome in 1133, concludes that because Innocent's election was more satisfactory than that of his rival, on account both of the way in which it was held and of those who held it,[1] it was easy for anyone to decide who was the true Pope.[2]

The new Pope.

The new Pope Innocent, like his rival, belonged to the Trastevere. His father, John, according to Innocent's later epitaph, was a scion of the noble family of the Papareschi,[3] whose towers were still standing in the fifteenth century near the Church of S. Maria in Trastevere, while another church in the same region, S. Giacomo in Settignano, once displayed their tombstones.[4] After having been a monk of the monastery at the Lateran, he became abbot of a dependent or connected house, the abbey of SS. Nicholas and Primitivus at "Gabii, near the Lacus Burranus."[5] In the time of Constantine, Gabii had fallen into complete decay, and is merely alluded to as a farm given by him to the Lateran baptistery. It was no doubt on this farm that the monastery over which the future Pope Innocent presided was built. It stood near the church of the martyr St. Primitivus, of which remains may still be seen on the banks of what was once the lake of Gabii, near the side of the Via Prænestina.[6]

Made cardinal-deacon of St. Angelo by Urban II., Gregory was soon employed on important missions, and made a lasting reputation for himself by his tactful conduct

[1] "Universitas ecclesie propter electionis et eligentium potiorem partem in Innocentium consensit." *De investigatione Antichristi*, i. 47.

[2] *Ib.*, i. 53, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii.

[3] *Cf. infra*, p. 71, and the *L. P.*

[4] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii., p. 423.

[5] "Loco qui vocatur Gabis prope lacum Burranum," says the document belonging to the archives of St. Praxedis (ap. Watterich, ii. p. 185, n.), which gives us this information about Innocent. The hamlet of Castiglione, about half-way between Rome and Præneste, marks the site of Gabii; but the lake is now completely drained.

[6] Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 885.

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at the Council of Worms. Fortunately for Innocent II., the qualities of Cardinal Gregory remained with him in his more exalted station.

Violence of the party of Anacletus.

Once proclaimed Pope, Pierleone lost no time in endeavouring to gain possession of Rome. After much bloodshed he succeeded in seizing both St. Peter's and the Lateran, and immediately plundered their treasuries. Many another church he treated in the same way, and thus procured money to gain more supporters.[1] Then, by one vigorous stroke to render his position secure, he swept across the Forum with a large body of horse and foot, and tried to carry by storm the mass of fortifications which the Frangipani had erected round the arch of Titus. Here, however, he received his first check. He was driven off with loss, and had to retreat to the fortress of his family.[2]

[1] *Cf.* ep. Card. Innocent.; *L. P.*, ii. 380; Ernald, *in vit. S. Bernardi*, c. 1, n. 1. This wholesale plundering of the churches has been called in question. But Boso, who as *camerarius* (treasurer) of Hadrian IV. had to make good the losses, is a thoroughly competent witness; and, as Duchesne (*L. P.*, *ib.*) further notes, Peter Mallius, Boso's contemporary, in his description of the Vatican basilica, often speaks of objects in the precious metals which he had once seen there, but which were no longer there when he wrote. Peter's memory went back further than 1130. It does not appear to have been noticed that St. Bernard is an irrefragable witness on this matter. Writing to the republican Romans, who soon after the election of Eugenius III. had plundered the houses of the clergy and nobles who were not of their party, the saint said: "Bethink you for what cause and reason, and by what agents, and to what uses you have not long ago (viz., in this schism of Anacletus) squandered all the ornaments and revenues of all the churches belonging to you; think how by impious hands all the gold and silver which could be found on the altars or in the (form of) altar vessels, or in the sacred images themselves, has been stolen and carried off. Of all this how much do you now find in your purses? Further, the beauty of God's house has irrevocably perished. And what has made you now (1145) repeat this evil doing, to call down on you again those evil days?" Ep. Bern., 243, n. 4.

[2] Ep. and *L. P.* cit.

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Innocent is ordained priest, and consecrated bishop, Feb. 22, 23, 1130.

A momentary peace being thus secured, Innocent was ordained priest on February 22, and, on the following day, was consecrated bishop in the Church of S. Maria Nova, under the shadow of the towers of the Frangipani.[1] On the last-named day, which was the second Sunday in Lent, Anacletus also was consecrated in St. Peter's by the bishop of Porto.

The rivals strive to secure the adhesion of the Catholic world.

Whilst Pierleone continued his work of securing the adhesion of the city by bribery and pressure,[2] both claimants of the Papacy endeavoured by letters and legates to gain the support of the Catholic world. Special efforts were made by both of them to win the good-will of the Emperor Lothaire; and the letters of both showed no little skill in glossing over the weak points of their position and conduct. Both alike made it plain that they would side with him against his rival Conrad; and Innocent begged him to come to Rome in the winter, that he might receive the imperial crown, and to come "with a large army" (*potestative*), so that he might be able to make peace and defend the Church.[3] This earnest request for help must have enlightened Lothaire as to the amount of truth there was in some of the words of Innocent's cardinals to him. He had been told that Anacletus was

[1] *Cf. Annales de Margan* (in Glamorganshire), 1130, ed. *R. S.* in *Annal. Monast.*, i. 12, and the other authorities, ap. Jaffé, *sub* 7404 (5318), and i. p. 912.

[2] Ep. Huberti, "Tribus generibus munerum nunc hos nunc illos sibi alliciens." *Cf.* Ernald, *in vit. S. Bern.*, c. 1, n. 1, "Aut vi aut formidine temerariæ multitudinis aut pretio corrupti sunt"; and Boso (ed. *L. P.*, ii. 380), "Majorem venalis Urbis partem emere studuit, corrumpens majores, et minores opprimens."

[3] Epp. Innocent., 1, 2 (February 18). *Cf.* epp. 4 and 5; and epp. Anacleti, 1, 2, 18, 19. In a letter to Hugh of Rouen (ep. 54, October 6, 1131), Innocent explains that the cause of the Roman Church is served "by detesting the ambition of the intruder Pierleone, and crushing the fury of Jewish perfidy—Judaicæ perfidiæ furorem conterens."

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Photo Alinari

Mosaics of the Apse of S. Maria Nuova (S. Francesca Romana).
(Largely twelfth century work.)

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lurking within his ancestral fortresses,[1] and that abbots and barons were hastening to the support of the Roman Church.

Anacletus becomes master of Rome.

For a time the great ones in Europe, both in the Church and State, confined themselves to making inquiries regarding the circumstances of the double election.[2] Meanwhile, in Rome the rivals excommunicated one another[3] (March), and Innocent steadily lost ground. The Frangipani deserted him,[4] and he had to betake himself to the towers of his family in the Trastevere (April). But his opponent, by a skilful outlay of the money he had got together by plundering the churches and by robbing the pilgrims who, as usual, were ever flocking to Rome, gradually became all-powerful in the city.[5] The position of Innocent became untenable; and he resolved to betake himself to that home of Popes in distress, France.

Innocent escapes to Pisa.

Two galleys were secretly hired, and in these Innocent with all his cardinals, except Conrad of Sabina, whom he left behind as his vicar, contrived with no little difficulty to descend the Tiber and make his escape to Pisa.[6] By this little republic, then in the first flush of its prosperity, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The streets of the city were bedecked with the spoils of Saracen pirates,

[1] "Jam infra paterni muri caveas latitat."

[2] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, *Hist. Compost.*, iii. 21.

[3] Ep. Inn., ap. Jaffé, 7407; Heimonis *liber*, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 549.

[4] *Cf.* the letter of the party of Anacletus to Diego.

[5] Gaufredus Vosiensis (fl. 1184), *Chron.*, n. 46, 1130. Anacletus "quia de nobilioribus erat, sedem urbanam obtinuit. Nam castrum quod dicitur Crescentii fratrum ipsius potestati subesse refertur." Ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. *Cf. Ann. Reichersperg.*, 1130, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii., "Eo (Anacletus) igitur in Roma potenter regnante . . . astante ei multitudine nimia affinium," etc.

[6] Boso, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 381; Ernaldus, *in vit. Bern.*, ii., c. 1, n. 2, "De ore Leonis et de manu bestiæ per Tiberim . . . elapsi"; Peter the Venerable, *De Miraculis*, ii. 16, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189; *Hist. Compost.*, iii., 25.

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and crowded with people.[1] Its chief magistrates, kneeling at Innocent's feet, thanked him for choosing their city as his home, and assured him that whatever the republic possessed was at his disposal.

The Pope was deeply touched by the loyalty of the Pisans, and showed it not only in words at the time and afterwards,[2] but by his readiness to grant them favours, and by bringing about a peace between them and Genoa.[3]

After a stay of a month or two in Pisa and Genoa, Innocent sailed for France, which Anacletus was striving hard to win over to his side,[4] but which would seem to have declared definitely for his opponent in August or very soon in September.

The attitude of France on the election.

An early pronouncement in Innocent's favour was made by St. Hugh of Grenoble. Though old and infirm, and though a personal friend both of Anacletus and his father, he hastened to meet a number of bishops at Puy in Velay. The sentence of excommunication which this synod passed on the antipope was a most severe blow to him on account of the great authority of the saint.[5] This declaration was followed (?) by a similar decision at a council at Étampes (August–September). This assembly of the bishops and nobility of France had been convened by Louis; and, very largely under the influence of St. Bernard, acknowledged

[1] "Nos, Pœnis subactis et Balearibus insulis subjugatis, terra marique de piratis et dyscolis triumphantes, reges eorum captivos in vinculis Pisam induximus; de quorum spoliis . . . ornantur compita," etc. Ernaldus, *l.c.*

[2] Ep. 269, March, 1137.

[3] Boso, *ib.*

[4] On May 1 he sent ten letters to Louis the Fat, to Cluny, etc. Jaffé, 8376 ff.

[5] *Cf.* his *Life*, c. 5 (ap. *P. L.*, t. 153, p. 779), by Guigo, written two years after the Saint's death (†1132). The synod's sentence, "contulit multum et profectum Catholicis, et detrimentum schismaticis."

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the claims of Innocent, influenced thereto, we are told, more by considerations of his personal merits than by the arguments for the validity of his election.[1] Although Louis felt himself under an obligation to Anacletus on account of the services rendered him by his family,[2] he nevertheless accepted the decision of the council. Another fatal blow was, about the same time, given to the cause of the antipope in France by the adhesion to Innocent of Peter the Venerable, the great abbot of Cluny, under whom Anacletus had once been a monk. Without waiting, we are told, "for the voice (*consilio*) of the Gallican Church," he went to meet Innocent with the greatest pomp and solemnity, conducted him in great state to Cluny, and invited him to consecrate the new church which he had just built (October 25). "When," continues Peter's biographer, "the kings of the earth heard that he had abandoned one of his monks so highly placed (*in sede positum*), and had exalted a stranger, they were filled with astonishment,"[3] and no doubt could not but be influenced by such an example.

[1] Suger, *in vit. Lud. VI.*, c. 31. *Cf. Chron. Maurin.*, ii. 14; *Ann. Blandinienses*, 1130, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v.; Ernaldus, *l.c.*, n. 3. Arnulf of Lisieux, *Tract.*, c. 5, says that the council decided in favour of Innocent because he was a man of unblemished character, and because his election was first in point of time, and made by the chief persons of the Roman Church. Unfortunately, the date of this council is not certain. However, despite Luchaire, *Annales de la vie de Louis*, n. 460, it is probable that it took place in August or in the very beginning of September, because it seems more natural to suppose that Innocent would not have landed in France without being assured of the favourable dispositions of its king. *Cf.* Mirot's edit. (Paris, 1909) of the *Chron. Maurin.*, p. 52 n. There is even greater uncertainty as to the exact date of the council of Puy. Innocent was at St. Gilles on September 11.

[2] Arnulf, *l.c.*

[3] C. 4. Ordericus Vitalis (*H. E.*, xiii. 11) insists very strongly on the influence of Cluny in securing the acceptance of Innocent by France. *Cf.* Peter the Venerable, ep. i. 34 *sub fin.*

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France was now practically won for Innocent. Immediately after the council of Étampes, Louis sent Abbot Suger to Cluny to assure him of his loyalty,[1] and with his wife and children went to visit him at the famous monastery of Fleury (January 1131). Bending before him as before "the confession of St. Peter," he threw himself at his feet and promised him his devoted service.[2]

More important to the cause of Innocent than the submission of a king was the advocacy of St. Bernard. He devoted himself to him with all his fiery zeal and unselfish devotion. He was unquestionably Innocent's ablest and most useful ally; and if he has to share with others the credit of having gained Louis of France to his interest, he can claim to have won over Henry of England by his own unaided efforts.

England and Germany follow the lead of France in accepting Innocent, 1131.

Both Anacletus and Innocent had sent letters to England with a view to securing the submission of that country. Perhaps because, as cardinal-legate, Anacletus had gained their good-will, the English bishops seem to have advised Henry to acknowledge him. But though our King "did not very well know how to be driven from an opinion he had once taken up," he was to learn on this occasion from a monk. It was seemingly near Chartres that Saint Bernard and Henry of England met. For a long time the King would not allow himself to be persuaded by the holy abbot. He feared, he said, that by acknowledging Innocent he might be guilty of sin. "Do you," replied the Saint, "think how you will make answer to God for your other sins. I will take this one on my own shoulders."[3] Henry yielded, met Innocent at Chartres, and, following the example of the king of France, prostrating himself at the feet of the Pope, promised that both he and his kingdom

[1] Suger, *l.c.*

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Ernaldus, *l.c.*, ii. 1, n. 4.

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would obey him (January 13, 1131).[1] And a little later, at Rouen, he honoured him with presents, "not only from himself, but also from the nobility and even from the Jews."[2]

As France and England had been gained for Innocent largely by the exertions of the great monks Peter of Cluny and Bernard of Cîteaux, so Germany was won over for him by the Premonstratensian, St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg.[3] From the letters which we have seen addressed to him, it is plain that he was one of the first to seek for authentic information regarding the double election. Once convinced of the justice of Innocent's claims,[4] he successfully used his enormous influence in his behalf. As early as October 1130, King Lothaire had been present at a council of sixteen bishops at Würzburg. Presided over by Walter, archbishop of Ravenna, a legate

[1] *Ib.*; *Chron. Maurin.*, ii. § 14; Epp. Inn. 28; and Suger, *l.c.*, "Cujus (Louis VI. of France) exemplo et rex Angliæ Henricus . . . devotissime pedibus ejus prostratus, votivam sui suorumque ut terra sua susceptionem et obedientiæ filialis promittit plenitudinem." *Cf.* Ord. Vitalis, *H. E.*, iii. 11; Will. of Malmesbury, *Hist. Novell.*, i. § 5, and Boso, p. 381.

[2] W. of Malmesbury, *l.c.* *Cf.* Will. of Jumièges, *Hist. Northman.*, viii. 30, and Robert de Monte, *Chron.*, 1131. Three years before this, Robert "of Thorigny" entered the famous monastery of Bec. It must be counted as another of his sins of omission that of this important episode in the history of the relations between England and Rome no notice is taken by Stephens in his *History of the English Church from* 1066–1272.

[3] St. Norbert had been elected archbishop in July 1126; but it was only the authority of the papal legate Cardinal Gerard, speaking in the name of Pope Honorius, that induced the Saint to accept the position. "Auctoritate Dei . . . et D. P. Honorii tibi præcipio ne vocationi Dei ullo modo contradicas." *Vita Norb.*, c. 16, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii. *Cf.* Madelaine, l. iii. c. 1.

[4] Hence one of Norbert's biographers calls the election of Innocent canonical: "Cui (Honorius) cum electione canonica Innocentius subrogatus esset," etc.; and Norbert himself is proclaimed: "Innocentii P. Catholici æquissimus fautor, Petri vero schismatici justissimus execrator." Sigebert, *contin. Præm.*, an. 1134. He had the distinction of being excommunicated by Anacletus.

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of Pope Innocent, it had been guided by Norbert, and had declared itself in favour of that pontiff with the full approval of the King,[1] who had at once despatched envoys to Innocent to negotiate with him.[2] It was arranged that an interview between them should take place at Liège, and thither accordingly Innocent betook himself after his meeting with the king of England.[3] He entered that ancient city on the third Sunday of Lent (March 22, 1131). Lothaire, with twenty-five archbishops and bishops, fifty-three abbots, and a large number of the nobility, awaited him. As soon as the king of the Romans, who had taken up his stand in front of the cathedral, beheld the Pope, he at once went forward to meet him. With one hand taking hold of the bridle of the white horse which Innocent was riding, he walked on foot by his side for the rest of the procession, carrying in his other hand a staff as a sign of his intention of protecting him.[4]

The synod at Liège.

But, to borrow a metaphor from St. Bernard's biographer, the sun shone too brightly to last. Lothaire could not resist the temptation of trying to take advantage of the Pope's dependent condition. He pressed him with no little warmth to grant him the right of investiture. Fortunately for Innocent, he had in the abbot of Clairvaux an ally equal to any emergency. The eloquence of St. Bernard prevailed over the meanness of Lothaire as it had done over the obstinacy of Henry.[5] The King, accordingly,

[1] *Annalista Saxo*, 1130. [2] Otto Frising, *Chron.*, vii. 18, etc.

[3] Because, say the *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, n. 23, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi.: "Ad cujus (Lotharii) pertinere auctoritatem litis hujusmodi et dissentionis diremtionem credidit."

[4] Suger, *l.c.* "Alia manu virgam ad defendendum . . . celsitudinem paternitatis ejus notis et ignotis clarificavit."

[5] Ernaldus, *in vit. Bern.*, ii. 1, n. 5. St. Bernard himself, writing to Innocent, alludes to these negotiations: "Nor at Liège was the threatening and savage sword of a passionate and angry king able to enforce acquiescence in his urgent and wicked demands." Ep. 150.

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offered his unconditional support to the Pope, and at the synod at which he was present acquiesced in the excommunication of Anacletus. But the gain was not all on the side of Innocent, for the same synod excommunicated the pretender Conrad with his brother Frederick and all their supporters.[1] The synod also discussed the question of Lothaire's leading an army to Rome that he might put down the usurpation of Anacletus by force,[2] establish Innocent in the proper home of the Papacy, and receive "the plenitude of empire" which the Pope promised him.[3] It was ultimately decided that the expedition should take place in the following year.[4]

Before he left Liège, Innocent and all his court drove in solemn procession, "as though at Rome along the Via Triumphalis," to the capitol of St. Lambert (March 29, *Lætare* Sunday). There he said Mass, and solemnly crowned Lothaire and his wife.[5]

Coronations of Pope Innocent.

It must have been with a lighter heart that Innocent returned to France. If Rome had received Anacletus, the Church was accepting him.[6] His progress through the country of Louis VI. was a triumphal procession. He had already been solemnly crowned at Autun on Christmas Day[7]

[1] *Ann. Magdeburg.*, 1131, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.; ep. Inn. 28. The decrees (called by the *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis*, 1131, "illud antiquum quod semper erit innovandum") insisting on clerical celibacy were also renewed at this synod. *Cf. Annales Rodenses*, etc., ap. *ib.*

[2] "Ad comprimendam tyrannidem Petri Leonis." *Ann. Disibod.*, 1131, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.

[3] *Ib. Cf.* Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, L. iii., ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 131, or *P. L.*, t. 172. Honorius of Augsburg (?) wrote *c.* 1137. See also Otto of Frising, *Chron.*, vii. 18.

[4] Boso, *in vit. Cf.* Cosmas Pragensis, *contin. canon. Wissegrad.*, 1131, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. The canon flourished *c.* 1142.

[5] Anselm of Gemblours, *Chron.*, 1131, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160.

[6] Honorius, *l.c.* "Anacletus . . . quem Roma suscepit, et Innocentius quem Ecclesia recepit."

[7] *Ann. S. Germani min.*, 1130, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv.

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(1130). The ceremony was with imposing pomp repeated at Easter (1131) in the great monastery of St. Denis at Paris, after the conference with Lothaire.[1] In the early morning of Easter Day (April 19) the Pope and his cardinals assembled at the Church of St. Denis-de-l'Estrée. "There making ready in their Roman way," says Abbot Suger, "they adorned themselves in an admirable manner. Upon the head of the Pope they placed the *frigium*, an imperial ornament like a helmet with a crown around it, and then set him on a beautifully caparisoned white horse. Gorgeously bedizened themselves, they rode horses of different colours, but all decorated with white saddle-cloths, and as they advanced two by two they sang joyous canticles. The baronial feudatories of our Church (*i.e.*, the Abbey of St. Denis) and other nobles on foot acted as grooms to the Pope. A number of men marched at the head of the procession scattering a liberal supply of money among the crowd to lessen its pressure on the cortége. The highway was strewn with foliage, and was gay with rich hangings suspended from poles. Amid the crowds of soldiers and people that came forth to do honour to the Pope, came also the blind synagogue of the Jews of Paris. Offering him a roll of the Pentateuch covered with a veil, they heard from his lips this tender prayer: 'May God Almighty take away the veil from your hearts.'[2] Arrived at length at the great church of the abbey, bright with silver and gold and precious gems, the Pope, assisted by me, offered the sacred victim, the true paschal lamb."[3] The spiritual feast was concluded by a grand banquet, at which Easter lamb (*materialem agnum*), we are told, was one of the dishes.

[1] *Ib.*

[2] The prayer is made up from two verses of St. Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 15, 16.

[3] Suger, *in vit. Ludovic.*, c. 21.

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After a repetition of the festivities on the following day, the Pope set out for Paris on Easter Tuesday. When he had spent a few days there, he again proceeded to move from one town or monastery of France to another, as he had done after he first landed on its shores, "supplying," adds Suger, "his own want of material resources from their abundance." But, as may readily be imagined, not all the places he visited were as wealthy or as generous as St. Denis and its abbot, and some were not slow to place on record that the visits of the papal court were a heavy burden to them.[1]

The council of Rheims, Oct. 1131.

Still further to make headway against the schism, Innocent summoned the bishops of "Germany (Alamannia), Lotharingia, France, Normandy, England, and Spain,"[2] to meet at Rheims in October. At the appointed time (October 18) there assembled in the royal city of Rheims some fifty bishops (among whom was St. Norbert), and three hundred abbots from all parts of Europe.[3]

The preacher whom Innocent commissioned to address the opening discourse to the assembly pronounced a high encomium on the papal dignity. "We have more than Moses here," he cried, "because to Moses the care of only the Jewish people was entrusted, while to him in our midst the whole Church has been committed. We have more than an angel here; for to which of the angels did God ever say: 'What you shall bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven' (St. Matt. xvi. 18). Speaking of the dignity

[1] "Sumptibus suis ecclesias, nostram quoque, admodum gravavit." *Chron. S. Andreæ*, iii. 37, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii. The writer of this chronicle seems to have been a very sour person.

[2] Ep. 46; Jaffé, 7484.

[3] *Cf. Annal. Magdeburg.*; *Rodenses*, an. 1131, and others ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi., and Jaffé, i. 850. But, according to Ordericus Vit., *H. E.*, iii., there were present at Rheims, 13 archbishops, 263 bishops, with a great number of abbots. Falco, *Chron.*, 1130, says he had heard that about 150 bishops were present.

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of the office and not of the merits of the person, it may be said that, with the exception of God, there is no one like to him on earth."[1]

Many of the decrees of this council reaffirmed those which had been passed by the Pope at a council held by him in Clermont (November 18, 1130). Thus both councils condemned simony, and imposed celibacy on all clerics above the rank of sub-deacon; and both endeavoured to further the cause of peace by promoting the Truce of God, and by condemning violence to clerics during their lives, or the violation of their goods after their death.[2] Both councils, too, regulated the dress and appearance of clerics.[3] But while the council of Clermont had simply promised obedience to Innocent, that of Rheims went further, and declared both Anacletus and Conrad, "the rebels against the Church and State," excommunicated.[4] We read in his *Life* how St. Norbert brought before the council the ancient documents regarding the privileges of his see. Written on papyrus, they were almost eaten away by the worms. By the authority of the Pope (*Romano munimine*), they were all renewed and corrected, and, this time no doubt, were engrossed on parchment.[5]

But the most striking incident in the council was the crowning of the second son of the king of France, called,

[1] Ap. Labbe, *Concil.*, x. p. 980. The author of this discourse is not known. By mistake it used to be attributed to St. Bernard.

[2] The council expressly reserves to the Pope the right of absolving one who should raise his hand against a cleric. Can. 13.

[3] The council of Rheims ordered, *e.g.*, that clerics should wear their hair short, and should shave their beards. The same assembly forbade ignorant priests to say Mass; and, on the other hand, the council of Clermont forbade religious to devote themselves to the study of civil law or medicine. It also prohibited tournaments or jousts. Jaffé, *sub* 7429.

[4] The acts of the council of Rheims are to be found ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 400, or *Regest.*, i., 850 f.

[5] *Vita Norberti*, c. 19, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii.

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like his father, Louis. To the intense grief[1] of his father, Philip, the heir to his throne and a youth of great promise, had been killed by a fall from his horse. Thereupon, says Suger, "we who were his intimates, fearing that his excessive weakness might end in sudden death, advised him to have his son Louis crowned so that he might be king with him, and thus obviate any troubles in the succession." Louis listened to the sage advice of his counsellors, appeared before the council of Rheims, and unfolded to the assembly his sorrows and his plans. By a few most feeling words Innocent did much to soothe the King's overwhelming grief. He urged submission to the will of God, who consoles us by prosperity and chastens us by sorrow, lest we should love the place of our exile and forget our heavenly country.[2]

The King's anguish was still further alleviated when, on the following day (Sunday, October 25, 1131), his little son Louis[3] was solemnly crowned by the Pope.

After the coronation ceremonies were over, St. Norbert presented Innocent with letters from Lothaire in which he again promised the Pope obedience, and intimated that he was preparing to restore him to his throne with all the strength of his kingdom. Similar letters offering him their loyal obedience were presented to the Pope on behalf of the Kings Henry of England, Alfonso I. of Aragon, and

[1] How great was his grief, "nec ipse Omerus elicere sufficeret." Suger, *in vit. Lud.*, c. 21.

[2] See the whole discourse in the *Chron. of Morigny*, ii. § 15.

[3] Afterwards Louis VII.; b. 1121. Stephen of Rouen, the supposed author of the *Draco Normannicus* (written *c.* 1169, ap. *Chronicles of Stephen*, R.S.), also sings of this honourable consecration:

> "Hujus apostolici manibus rex inde sacratus
> Ludovicus, honor maximus iste throni."

Cf. ep. 432, an. 1139.

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Alfonso VIII. of Castile.[1] Last of all there was read before the assembly an admirable letter from the Carthusians of Grenoble; "men," says the *Chronicle of Morigny* which gives us these details, "of incomparable authority from the angelic life they were leading in the fastnesses of the Alps." With all humility they exhorted the Pope not to be discouraged at the trials which the Roman Church was now enduring. It would triumph over them as it had done over all its other great difficulties. Innocent must be an example to the whole world; for the whole world, and not a mere part of it, is his diocese. As there is one God, one Mediator, one earth and one sun, so the Vicar of Peter, the Pope, can only be one."[2] Now at length could it be said with truth, "Peter possesses Rome, but Gregory the whole world."[3]

Canonisation of St. Godehard.

Before the council was dissolved, the canonisation of St. Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim (†1038), was proclaimed

[1] The two latter asked for help against the Moors, *Chron. Maurin.*, *ib.* *Cf.* ep. 5 Vulgrini (ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 46), on the extent of the "obedience" of Innocent. *Cf.* also epp. Bernardi, 124 ff., and ep. ii. 4 of Peter the Venerable, who asks: "Ubi Ecclesia esse existimanda sit, quæ in omnibus mundi nationibus esse credenda est, in angulo urbis Romæ, an in toto orbe; in particula Aquitaniæ (which held out for Anacletus for a long time) an in mari usque ad mare; in paucissimis et pene nullis hominibus an in omnibus quæ sub cœlo sunt gentibus."

[2] "Nam sicut Deus est unus, mediator unus, mundus unus, sol unus, et ut minora inseramus, in animalibus cunctis capud unum, ita b. Petri vicarius, *i.e.* papa, non potest esse nisi unus." The *Chron. of Morigny* inserted this letter: "quoniam nos utilitati posterorum damus operam." The *religious* generally accepted Innocent. Speaking for the canons regular, Gerhoh, the famous provost of Reichersberg, says: "Si percurres omnia claustra canonicorum regularium, nec unum quidem in eis, credo, invenies Petri Leonis consentaneum. . . . Nos qui regulares dicimur omnes . . . fatemur successorem Petri legitimum (Innocentium)." He opines that those of the secular clergy who wished success to Anacletus were "the irregulars." *Ep. ad Innocent.*, p. 227, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. The said letter, mostly a dialogue, was written just before this council. *Cf.* ep. S. Bernard., 126, n. 10.

[3] Robert de Mont., *Chron.*, 1130.

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by the assembled Fathers. An eye-witness of the affair[1] has left on record (c. 8) the difficulties which the promoters of the canonisation had met with on account of their distance from Rome and other such causes, and their joy when Innocent came to their country. Reminding his readers that, on account of mistakes which had often been made, it had been decreed that no one was to be canonised without the authority of the Pope, and except after a careful examination of the candidate's life,[2] he says that Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim had asked Innocent at Liège to declare Godehard a saint. "But," he continues, "as it is the custom of the Roman Church to canonise the saints of God in a general council, and as one had then been summoned to meet at Rheims on the Feast of St. Luke, the Pope deferred his decision till that date." The Bishop's request was favourably entertained by the council, and Godehard was canonised by a unanimous decree of the assembly.[3]

After the council was over, Innocent did not forget the work that had been done for him by St. Bernard and St. Norbert. He took pleasure in granting them favours, and in the bulls which he issued in their behalf, he spoke of his indebtedness to them, sometimes in the very same words.[4]

[1] *Canoniz. et translatio S. Godehard*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 1207 ff.

[2] "Sed cum canonica censura, propter illusiones dæmonum, quæ frequenter in Ecclesia Dei in talibus contigerunt, statutum sit ne quis sine apostolica auctoritate, et vita ipsius per viros auctorabiles approbata canonizaretur," etc. *Ib.*, c. 8.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 10. The bull of canonisation is given in the following chapter, or in ep. 61, or in Fontanini, *Codex Constitutionum SS.*, p. 11, Rome, 1729. *Cf. supra*, iv. 385 f.

[4] *Cf.* ep. 87 to St. Bernard with ep. 125 to St. Norbert. In ep. 142 he says of Norbert: "nec labor aliquis temporalis, nec alicujus minæ seu blanditiæ efficere potuerunt, quin adversus Petri Leonis tyrannidem murum inexpugnabilem te opponens, et ad ipsius regis et aliorum principum corda in B. Petri obedientiam inducenda efficaciter laborans," etc.

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Innocent again visits different parts of France.

We may now leave Innocent for a brief space while he gradually makes his way towards the south of France to be ready to join Lothaire, who was to march into Italy with him in the coming spring, and may turn our attention to his rival Anacletus. But before doing so we will note that in February (1132) Innocent received letters from the Latin bishops of Palestine offering him their obedience,[1] and that at some time during his journeyings through France he visited Clairvaux, the home of his great supporter St. Bernard. In all probability he visited it from Auxerre, where he stayed from July 26 to September 24, 1131. The reception he met with there was very different from those with which he had been greeted by Louis or by Lothaire, or even by Peter the Venerable and his monks at Cluny. He was received, says St. Bernard's biographer, by men not clad in purple and fine linen, nor carrying copies of the Gospels bound in gold, but by the poor of Christ clothed in garments of coarse cloth, and bearing aloft a rude cross of wood. He was welcomed not with the thunder of classical choruses, nor with loud hurrahs of joy, but with melodies soft, tender, and low. The Pope and his attendants could not restrain their tears, and they were struck with astonishment at beholding the downcast eyes of the poor of Christ who, while observed by all, saw no one themselves. Even the Church showed no signs of grandeur; there was nothing to see there but bare walls. In the refectory there was the same simplicity.

[1] Ep. 79, Feb. 2. According to Gerhoh, the acceptance of Innocent by "the apostolic sees" of the East had a great influence in causing his general recognition. "Sic meminimus esse factum in diebus nostris (viz., that that party was contemned which did not receive the support of the other apostolic sees), quando Petrus Leonis . . . est ab æcclesia projectus et P. Innocentius receptus rei veritate comperta de consensu apostolicarum sedium transmarinarum." *Opusc. ad cardinales*, p. 406, ap. *M. S. Libell.*, iii.

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The ordinary fare served there was a poor kind of bread and vegetables; but if a fish was caught in the neighbouring Aube, it was placed before the Pope. The festivities at Clairvaux were essentially those of the soul.[1]

Anacletus secures the support of Roger of Sicily.

Whilst Innocent was thus strengthening his authority in France, Anacletus was making vain efforts to secure the obedience of the countries beyond the Alps. He sent letters "urgent and in part undignified"[2] to the different sovereigns. They remained unanswered. Even a letter to Lothaire from the Roman nobles and people of the anti-pope's party did not receive a reply. Highly indignant, they declared to their king that, if he did not recognise Anacletus as Pope, they would not elect him as emperor[3] (May 18, 1130). The threat did not disturb Lothaire. He vouchsafed no reply to it. The partisans of the antipope, whether in Rome or beyond the Alps, also exerted themselves in his behalf both by word and by writing. His most distinguished supporter, the bishop of Porto, wrote to his fellow cardinal-bishops to upbraid them with electing Innocent "in a hidden place, in darkness." He pretended, quite contrary to the truth, as we know from the authentic decree of Nicholas II., that the principal voice in papal

[1] This account is drawn directly from Ernald, ii. 1, c. 6. He could not resist a sly thrust at Roman cupidity. He says there was nothing in the monastery that the Roman could envy but the virtues of the monks, and that these would not be lessened by being carried away.

[2] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 424. The letters of Anacletus, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 689 ff. He is always insisting on "the marvellous and stupendous concord of clergy and people" at his election. Epp. 1, 34, etc. But his letters show that friends, even relations, had abandoned him, and were persuading others to do likewise. *Cf.* epp. 23, 28, 47, 51.

[3] Quoted by Gregorovius, *ib.*, from Baronius. The doubts and difficulties expressed by Gregorovius in connection with these letters may be cleared away by noting that "Obicio, Huguizo, Oguiczo, Uguccio, Hugo" are only different forms of the same name, and that the prefect Hugo was the brother of Anacletus. *Cf.* *Archivio Rom.*, already cited p. 5.

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elections belonged not to the cardinal-bishops but to the cardinal-priests and deacons. He therefore called upon his brethren not to persist further in their schism.[1] Abroad, Reimbald, a canon of Liège, took up his pen in behalf of Anacletus, and, deprecating hasty decisions, asserted that all those who had acknowledged Innocent had done so in an irrational manner, without in the least degree knowing why they had so acted.[2]

But the only success which Anacletus achieved across the Alps was through Gerard, bishop of Angoulême. That able but ambitious prelate had at first acknowledged Innocent; but when he found that he would not allow him to retain the legatine office which he had held under preceding pontiffs,[3] he threw over his allegiance to Innocent, and induced the dissolute William X., count of Poitiers, duke of Aquitaine, to profess obedience to Anacletus. It required all the eloquence and faith of St. Bernard to bring the Duke to submit to Innocent (1134).[4]

Finding that he had no hope of substantial support on the other side of the Alps, Anacletus turned to the traditional foes of the Empire, viz. to the Normans. Proceeding to Avellino, he succeeded in gaining over to his

[1] Ep. ap. Will. of Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.*, L. 1, an. 1130.

[2] Ep. ap. Bouquet, *Rec. des hists. des Gaules*, t. xv. p. 366, or ap. Baronius, *Annal.*, an. 1130, § 38, p. 445, ed. Pagi. He especially blamed what he regarded as the precipitate action of Cluny.

[3] The reason of Innocent's action was the arrogance of Gerard. Intoxicated with power, he acted as though he were the Pope himself. Geoffrey of Vendôme, writing to him (Ep. i. 21, ap. *P. L.*, t. 157) in the hope of lessening his ambition, had reminded him that in his presence he had heard him boast even before the laity that he had the power of deposing bishops—a power, adds Geoffrey, belonging solely to the Roman pontiffs themselves. "Nos tamen credebamus mediocritatem vestram legationem habere sedis apostolicæ, non apostolicam sedem esse."

[4] *Cf.* Vacandard, *St. Bernard*, i. p. 317 ff., and 356 ff. *Cf.* Richard, *Etude hist. sur le schisme d'Anaclet en Aquitaine*, Poitiers, 1859. Scotland did not acknowledge Innocent till the death of Anacletus.

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cause Roger, duke of Sicily, by giving him his sister's hand in marriage,[1] and promising him the title of "king of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia," the principality of Capua, the lordship of Naples, and the right to the support of the men of Benevento. He was also to have the right to be crowned by the bishops of his own territories, and was, in general, to have all the rights that had been granted to his predecesssors by the predecessors of Anacletus. In return, he and his heirs were to take an oath of fidelity to Anacletus and his successors, and to pay to the Roman Church six hundred "schifati" (coins of gold) a year.[2] The terms were agreed to, and Roger was crowned with great pomp at Palermo by a legate of the antipope[3] (December 25, 1130). Thus gained, Roger remained true to Anacletus because, among other reasons, according to the biographer of St. Bernard, he did not wish to have to restore the papal patrimonies in the neighbourhood of Monte Cassino and Benevento which Anacletus had suffered him to annex.[4]

Now that we have reviewed not merely the beginning of the schism caused by the double election of Innocent II. and Anacletus II., but also the attitude towards it at first adopted by many of the best men in Europe, and by the more important of its countries, we may trace it to its close in 1139, when peace was made between Pope Innocent and Roger of Sicily.

[1] Ord. Vitalis, *H. E.*, xiii. 35.

[2] Ep. Anac. 39, Sept. 27, 1130. *Cf.* Falco, *Chron.*, 1130; Curtis, *Roger of Sicily*, p. 135 ff., London, 1912.

[3] Alex. Teles., *De Gest. Roger.*, ii. 1 ff.; Falco, *ib.* In the *Draco Normanicus* (iii. c. 6) we read:

> "A duce Rogerio tunc alter Papa receptus (Anacletus)
> Quo sibi dux faveat, hunc prius ipse sacrat."

[4] Ernaldus, ii. 7, n. 46. "Rex necdum voluit obedire (Innocent), quia S. Petri patrimonium quod in Cassinensi et Beneventana provincia amplissimum est, cupidus occupaverat, putabatque . . . extorquere privilegia per quæ in jus proprium deinceps sibi stabiliretur hæreditas."

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CHAPTER II.

THE SCHISM FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1132 TO 1139.

Innocent goes to north Italy, 1132.

As soon as the passes of the Alps were open, Innocent descended into north Italy, seemingly by Mont Genèvre in the Cottian Alps.[1] Whilst waiting for the coming of the armed forces of Lothaire, he went about as he had done in France, from city to city, and from one great monastery to another, consecrating churches, granting or confirming privileges, and the like. At Piacenza he held in June a council of the bishops of "Lombardy, Ravenna, and the March of Ancona" (*inferioris Marchiæ*).[2] By this Innocent so far established his authority in the north of Italy that, despite the opposition of Milan, the Archbishop of which had declared himself in favour of the antipope Anacletus and of the anti-king Conrad of Hohenstaufen, the latter found it desirable to leave Italy before the arrival of Lothaire.

Lothaire enters Italy.

Meanwhile, the king of the Romans had discovered that it was not so easy to organise his Italian expedition as he had supposed. The German princes were not ready with their contingents, and the opposition to him which Conrad of Hohenstaufen had organised in north Italy, was being repeated in Germany by his brother Frederick of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia.[3] However, leaving the reins of

[1] Jaffé, *sub* 7563.

[2] Boso, *in vit.* The March of Ancona, made up of the Pentapolis and the March of Camerino, is called the Marca inferior to distinguish it from the northern Marca Travisana (the March of Treviso), between the Adige and the Piave.

[3] *Cf.* Honorius, *Summa*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 131.

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government during his absence in the hands of his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria, Lothaire started on his "Rome-journey" in August.[1] But instead of the thirty thousand men he had hoped to have with him, he had less than two thousand. Making his way into Italy by the valley of the Trent, he found that his little army inspired more ridicule than fear, and it was not till November that he joined the Pope in the plains of Roncaglia near Piacenza.[2] There they appear to have decided that neither the season of the year nor the uncertain state of feeling in north Italy was favourable for a march on Rome. Accordingly, in the meanwhile, the Pope went to Pisa, and Lothaire eastwards, with a view to bringing to obedience some cities of doubtful loyalty.

Innocent again at Pisa; he makes peace between it and Genoa, 1133.

When Innocent reached Pisa, he found that the work of peace between that city and Genoa, on which he had been engaged in 1130, had all to be done over again. He summoned St. Bernard to help him to do it. For many years their respective claims with regard to Corsica and Sardinia had furnished cause of quarrel between the rival maritime cities, and the truce which Innocent had made between them in 1130 had been so badly observed that the two states were now openly preparing for war.

In virtue of the Frankish donations, Corsica and Sardinia belonged to the Popes; but they do not appear to have themselves exercised direct control over them for any length of time. Leo III. entrusted the government of Corsica to Charlemagne,[3] as he did not feel able to protect it against the piratical attacks of the Moors. After a long series of descents upon the island, these barbarians made themselves masters of at least a large portion of it about the

[1] *Cf.* Richter's *Annalen*, ii. 676–7.
[2] Boso, *in vit.*, ap. *L. P.*, p. 381.
[3] *Cf.* vol. ii. p. 92 of this work.

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beginning of the eleventh century.[1] But in the course of the same century they were driven out by the Pisans and Genoese, and the Popes resumed their control over the island, nominating the bishop of Pisa as its governor.[2] Before the middle of the same century, through the exertions of Pope Benedict VIII.,[3] they had also been expelled from Sardinia by the same enterprising cities. Unfortunately, if but too naturally, trouble arose between the conquerors themselves about the division of the spoils. Especially were the Genoese dissatisfied with the bishop of Pisa's having been made metropolitan of the whole of Corsica by the Holy See (1092).[4]

Innocent alters the relations of the bishops of Pisa and Genoa to Corsica and Sardinia.

Various efforts had been made to no purpose by the successors of Urban II. to lessen the jealousy of Genoa. By launching out into a larger scheme, Innocent met with greater success. His first step was to emancipate Genoa from the jurisdiction of Milan by making its bishop a metropolitan, thereby punishing Milan's revolt at the same time.[5] To provide suffragans for Syrus, the new archbishop, he took away from Milan the diocese of Bobbio, and made the monastery of Brugnato into a bishopric.[6] Besides

[1] The date 810, which is often given as the time when Corsica fell definitely into the hands of the Saracens, is wholly erroneous. They seized it then momentarily, but left it immediately. It probably was never wholly in their hands. *Cf.* Balan, *Storia d'Italia*, ii. 615.

[2] *Cf.* Greg. VII., *Regist.*, v. 4 (*cf.* v. 2, an. 1077). The Pope states that the Corsicans: "velle reverti et diu subtractam ab invasoribus justitiam b. Petro . . . rediberi."

[3] *Cf.* vol. v. p. 175 f. of this work. [4] Jaffé, 5464 (4078).

[5] "Januensem vero episcopum a subjectione Mediolanensis archiepiscopi emancipavit," etc. Boso, *in vit.*, p. 382.

[6] Ep. 136, May 27, 1133. Innocent proclaimed that, as the keys of the kingdom of heaven had been given to Peter, "semper ei licuit duos episcopatus in unum redigere, opportunitate temporis in duo dividere, novos creare, et abbatias et alia venerabilia loca episcopalis prerogativæ culmine decorare." Brugnato is on the Apennines by the river Vara. *Cf.* ep. Bernardi, 131. "The fulness of power over all the churches of the world has been given to the Apostolic See as her special preroga-

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these two dioceses, he submitted to Syrus three out of the six Corsican bishoprics which either already existed or which he brought into existence for the purpose, viz. Mariana (on the left of the mouth of the Golo, now in ruins), Nebbio (S. Fiorenzo), and Acci or Accia in the interior, south of Golo.[1] He also made over the northern half of the island of Corsica to Genoa, on condition that its people should take an oath of fealty to the Holy See, and pay it a pound of gold every year.[2]

The other three Corsican bishoprics (Aleria, now in ruins, Ajaccio, and Sagona) were left in the hands of the archbishop of Pisa, who was at length (1138) compensated for his losses in Corsica by being made papal legate in Sardinia, and by being made metropolitan of two out of the four *Judicatuses* into which Sardinia was divided, viz. of the Judicatus Gallurensis, and of the Judicatus Turritanus. They comprised the northern half of Sardinia, and included the bishoprics of Nuoro-Galtelly (Galtelinensis), Ampurias and Tempio (Civitatensis), and Populonia, near Piombino, now in ruins.[3]

Peace between Genoa and Pisa, 1133.

By these judicious arrangements, and by the compelling influence of the eloquence of St. Bernard, who moved the whole city of Genoa[4] as though he were its sovereign, peace

tive. . . . She can, if she see fit, appoint bishops where before there were none. Where they exist she can degrade some, exalt others, as reason bids her, so that she can make bishops into archbishops, and *vice versa*, where she sees necessity."

[1] Ep. 132, May 25, 1133. This letter should be read in the text published by Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta PP. RR.*, ii. p. 273 (Stuttgart, 1884), because, *e.g.*, many of the place-names in the *P. L.* are unrecognisable.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Ep. 315 (according to Pflugk-Harttung, *l.c.*, p. 294, who also gives this document; it should be dated April 22, 1138); Boso, *in vit.*, p. 381 f. *Cf.* Fabre, *Le Liber Censuum*, i. 73 f.

[4] *Cf.* epp. Bernard., 129 and 130, to the citizens of Genoa and Pisa respectively.

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was made between the rival cities on terms prescribed by the Pope.[1] Innocent had now succeeded not only in stopping a most disastrous war, but in securing most useful allies.

Lothaire and Innocent enter Rome.

Acting in conjunction with Lothaire, Pisan and Genoese galleys put to sea, whilst he himself, meeting the Pope at Calcinaja, east of Pisa, on the right bank of the Arno, advanced with him towards Rome (March 1133). The galleys sailed up the Tiber,[2] and did not cease to harry the Romans until they had received the king and the Pope. Soon after, the Pisans began a campaign against Roger of Sicily which, in the main, redounded to their advantage, and inflicted great loss on the territories of the antipope's king.[3]

Meanwhile, Anacletus began to feel his position to be very insecure. His only powerful ally, Roger, king of Sicily, had had to retreat before rebellious vassals, and the important city of Benevento had declared for Innocent.[4] He accordingly endeavoured to delay the advance of Lothaire by negotiation, and sent embassy after embassy to him to plead the justice of his cause.[5] But, acting on the advice of his bishops, the king of the Romans replied that the whole Church (*universitas*) had already condemned him, and continued his march. When at length he halted his army outside Rome on the Via Nomentana by the Church of St. Agnes outside-the-walls, he was met by a

[1] *Cf.* ep. Inn., ap. Pflugk-Harttung, *l.c.*, p. 273.

[2] At any rate we are assured that "ceperunt turres plures." Caffari, *Ann. Genuenses*, l. i. ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 259. And Boso (*l.c.*) expressly states that the fleets took possession of the Marmorata, *i.e.*, the left bank of the Tiber at the base of the Aventine.

[3] *Cf. Chron. Pisana*, an. 1134 ff., ap. *ib.*, p. 170.

[4] Falco, *Chron.*, p. 114, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v.

[5] "Nuntios schismatici illius Petri Leonis frequenter habuimus," says Lothaire himself in a letter addressed to the Christian world, ap. Watterich, ii. 212, or *M. G. LL.*, ii. 81. Innocent on his side professed his readiness to submit his claims to the decision of a tribunal constituted by Lothaire. *Cf. Vita Norberti*, c. 21, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii.

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number of the Roman nobles whom his approach caused to turn again to Innocent. Among these were the Pope's first supporters, the Frangipani and the Corsi. These men introduced the forces of Lothaire into the city, and accompanied Innocent to the Lateran, and the King to the imperial palace on the Aventine (May 30, 1133).[1]

Further negotiations with Anacletus.

After Lothaire had entered Rome, Anacletus continued his efforts to have his claims and those of Innocent submitted to a thorough examination. Moreover, as a proof of his being in earnest in the matter, he offered to give hostages to the King, and also to surrender to him his fortresses if Innocent would do the same. Anxious, writes Lothaire himself, to effect a bloodless peace, he proposed these conditions for Innocent's acceptance. But though he agreed to them, Lothaire found that Anacletus had not the slightest intention of complying with them, and in great wrath publicly proclaimed him and his supporters faithless liars, and as guilty of treason towards God and himself.[2] More he could not effect against the antipope, for he was safely entrenched in the Leonine city, and had a very strong party in the city proper in his favour, whereas the troops at his disposal were but few.

Lothaire is crowned emperor, June 4, 1133.

The fact that Lothaire was unable to possess himself of St. Peter's deprived his coronation ceremonies of half their splendour. However, in no little state he and his wife Richinza proceeded from the Church of St. Boniface by their palace on the Aventine to St. John Lateran. At the entry of the basilica he took the following oath:—"I, King Lothaire, promise and swear to you, the lord Pope Innocent, and to your successors, that I will protect

[1] Boso; ep. Lothar.; *Annal. Patherbrun.*, an. 1133; ep. 135; *Vita Norberti*, *l.c.*

[2] Ep. Lothar. "Quia ipsi . . . implere quod promiserant noluerunt, tamquam fallaces et perfidi . . . damnati sunt."

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your life and liberty, your papal dignity, and your honour, and that I will defend the rights and belongings (regalia) of St. Peter which you possess, and, as far as in me lies, will recover those which you do not possess."[1] After this customary oath had been taken, the royal procession entered the basilica, and Lothaire and his wife were crowned emperor and empress respectively. Then, accompanied by the Pope, they returned to the Aventine for the usual festivities.[2]

The lands of Matilda are conferred on Lothaire.

A few days later (June 8), important documents were issued by the Pope. He had to pay the price of the emperor's assistance. By one he confirmed the Concordat of Worms, insisting that prelates must not take possession of their temporalities without application to the emperor.[3] This bull appears to have been issued as an attempt to soothe a disappointment which the Pope had been compelled to inflict on the emperor; for, if St. Norbert's biographer has not made a mistake, Lothaire again asked Innocent to grant him the right of investiture. According to the same authority, when Innocent seemed about to grant the request, St. Norbert sprang up, and before the emperor and his court thus addressed the Pope: "What, my Father, are you about to do? To what injuries are you about to expose the flock which has been entrusted to you? Will you again reduce the Church which you have received free to the condition of a handmaid? The chair of Peter requires deeds worthy of Peter. I have promised obedience to Blessed Peter, and for the sake of Christ I

[1] Ap. Watterich, ii. 209. He gave this undertaking because, as he said in his circular to the Christian world, Divine Providence had made him "the patron and defender of the holy Roman Church." *Cf.* a letter of Innocent, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 523.

[2] Boso, *l.c.*; *Annal. Magdeburg.*, an. 1133, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. According to these Annals the principal share in arranging the coronation fell to the lot of Norbert, the saintly archbishop of that town.

[3] Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 522 f.

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have promised it equally to you; but if you grant what has been demanded of you, I declare before the Church I will oppose you and the step you take."[1]

These bold words as effectively brought to naught this second request of Lothaire, as did those of St. Bernard his similar petition at Liège.

By a second bull "the allodial lands which the Countess Matilda formerly gave to St. Peter"[2] were granted to Lothaire. This diploma begins by pointing out the great gain to the worship of God and to the good of mankind which results from the close union of the Papacy and the Empire. It proceeds to show how Lothaire has made the interests of the Church his, and how therefore he should be rewarded by a grateful mother. Hence it continues: "We now confer the said allodial lands upon you by the investiture of a ring,[3] on condition that you pay one hundred pounds of silver to us and to our successors, and that after your death the lands shall revert unimpaired and without trouble to the full dominion (*ad jus et dominium*) of the holy Roman Church."

[1] *Vita Norberti*, c. 21, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii. "Cathedra Petri requirit opera Petri."

[2] Ep. 145, or ap. Watterich, ii. 209 f., or ap. Theiner, *Cod. Dom. Temp.*, i. 12.

[3] After the death of Lothaire and Anacletus, Innocent caused a fresco (really frescos) of the oath-taking and of the coronation of the emperor to be painted on a wall of the Lateran. According to the Annals of Cologne (*Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1156), it represented the Pope sitting on his throne, and the emperor kneeling in front of him with his hands in one of the Pope's, and receiving the imperial crown. The following inscription is said to have been placed beneath it:

> "Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius Urbis honores
> Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante coronam."
> Rahewinus, *Gesta Fred. imp.*, iii. 10.

The "homo fit Papæ" refers to this investiture by the ring; but the picture with its inscription was destined to cause trouble to Hadrian IV. *Cf. infra*, p. 262 f.

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The emperor and the Pope leave Rome.

The emperor had now done all he could for the Pope; but he was wholly unable to give to the enemies of Roger of Sicily that help for which they earnestly craved. The growing summer heat warned him that he must retire from Italy. This he did by forced marches, and reached Frisingen by August 23. No sooner had he left Rome than Anacletus resumed the offensive. Fortune, too, again smiled on Roger of Sicily. The foes of both had to give way before them. Innocent and Robert, prince of Capua, set sail for Pisa in the month of September.[1] On this occasion the Frangipani remained true to Innocent. They at once felt the weight of the antipope's wrath, and we find him boasting to Didacus of Compostela that he will soon utterly extirpate them.[2]

The Pope again at Pisa, 1133-1137.

Innocent reached Pisa in September or October, and had to remain there for nearly three years and a half. During that period "he exercised the papal functions, issuing his decrees to all parts of the world,"[3] but was not able to visit Rome. Meanwhile, the evils of the schism continued, though they were not so serious as Ordericus Vitalis would make out. "Great troubles and dissensions," he wrote, "sprang up throughout the world. In most of the monasteries there were two abbots; and in several dioceses two bishops claimed the episcopal rights, one of whom adhered to Peter Anacletus, and the other to Gregory Innocent."[4] This state of things could only have existed to any considerable extent where the cause of Anacletus was supported by the secular arm, as in Aquitaine and south Italy.

[1] Falco, *Chron.*, p. 117; ep. 155 and ep. Anac. 47. The antipope says he drove Lothaire away: "non sine multa strage suorum ignominose . . . redire coegimus."

[2] Ep. cit., April 22, 1134.

[3] Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, xiii. 12.

[4] *Ib.*, c. 11.

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Photo N.P.G.

The Cathedral of Ravello.

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All this time the friends of Innocent were working in his behalf. The fleets of Genoa and Pisa were not idle; and in destroying the little state of Amalfi the Pisans deprived Roger of Sicily of his most powerful naval support (August 1135).[1] Despite this reverse, however, Roger not merely held his own, but continued to strengthen his hold on south Italy.[2]

Exertions (1) of the Pisans in his behalf.

But in Germany the march of events was altogether unfavourable to the cause of Anacletus. When the anti-king Conrad of Hohenstaufen abandoned Italy, he joined his forces to those of his brother Frederick, and proved a great source of annoyance to Lothaire. The emperor, however, took the field successfully against them; but it was reserved to St. Bernard to bring about peace between the rival sovereigns. Fresh from endeavours to quench the schism in Aquitaine, the holy abbot betook himself to Germany in the month of February or March 1135.

(2) of St. Bernard.

Unable to resist the saint's eloquence, first Frederick and then Conrad himself definitely submitted to Lothaire. Frederick appeared barefoot before the emperor at the diet of Bamberg, and received pardon from him, on condition that he should obtain *its plenitude* from the Pope (March 17, 1135).[3] In notifying to Innocent the terms

The Hohenstaufen brothers submit to Lothaire, 1135.

[1] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la dominat. Normande en Italie*, ii. 46 f. *Cf.* St. Bernard, ep. 140, who, speaking about the Pisans, asks: "Is not this the people too which, wonderful to relate, in one campaign stormed the wealthy and strongly fortified cities of Amalfi, Ravello, Scala, and Atturnia (Atrani),—cities which up to that time had been found impregnable by all who had attempted their capture?" How are the mighty fallen! These once great cities are now but villages, beautiful indeed, but certainly neither wealthy nor strong.

[2] *Cf.* ep. 176 Bernardi.

[3] Ep. Lothair. ad Innocent., ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 523. "Quos (the two brothers) tamen non minus tibi obligatos sub hac cautela et condicione recepimus: ut plenitudinem absolutionis suæ non nisi aput tuam paternitatem obtineant." *Cf.* Otto Frising, *Chron.*, vii. 19; *Annal. Saxo*, 1135; Ernald., *in vit. Bern.*, iv. c. 3, n. 14.

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on which he had received the rebel brothers into his grace, the emperor told him that he had convoked the princes of the Empire to a diet at Spires. It was to be held at Christmas (1135), and was to deliberate on another expedition to Rome. He begged the Pope to send a legate to the assembly, and by letters to warn the clergy to be zealous in their joint service.[1]

The council of Pisa, 1135.

Meanwhile, Innocent had summoned the bishops of the Catholic world to meet at Pisa on the Feast of Pentecost (May 26, 1135).[2] The council was not actually opened till May 30. It lasted for eight days; but, unfortunately, was not too numerously attended,[3] though there were bishops from many different countries, including Hungary.[4] Besides passing the usual decrees for the betterment of church discipline, the synod deposed various bishops for simony and other crimes, forbade the selling of freeborn Christians to the heathen, and, while condemning those who helped the antipope or "the tyrant Roger," granted to those who took part against them "the same indulgence (*eadem remissio*) which Urban granted to the crusaders at the council of Clermont." Roger and Anacletus were again excommunicated. It was also decided that every year the Pope should give a mark of gold, his chancellor two ounces of gold, and other prelates a mark of silver to the Knights Templars.[5]

[1] Ep. cit. [2] Ep. 160, Nov. 8, 1134.

[3] There were only fifty-six bishops present according to Vacandard, citing a contemporary document, ap. Mansi, *Concil.*, xxi. 489; but Richter, *Annalen*, p. 697, sets down the number as over 120. Most of our knowledge of the doings of this council comes from a document published in 1881 by Bernheim in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, t. xvi. p. 148 (1881). It required strong remonstrances from St. Bernard (ep. 255) before King Louis VI. of France, who happened to have some disagreement with Innocent, would allow the bishops of his territories to proceed to Pisa.

[4] Boso, *in vit.*, p. 382; Ernald., ii. 2, n. 8. [5] Jaffé, *sub* 7695.

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St. Bernard at Milan.

The council also received a number of Milanese who declared that they had renounced their allegiance to the antipope and to the anti-king and to their excommunicated archbishop, Anselm of Pusterla, and that they would strive to bring their fellow-citizens to acknowledge Innocent and Lothaire. This with the aid of St. Bernard,[1] who had been the chief figure at the council of Pisa, they succeeded in doing. The saint received a perfect ovation when he entered Milan, the people all pressing round him to kiss his feet. Later on, when they had seen the miracles which he wrought in their midst, they were wont to pluck threads from his clothes to keep as relics,[2] and though so attached to their privileges, whilst under the spell of the saint they suffered them to pass away unheeded.[3]

Peter the Venerable writes to the Pope, 1136.

Whilst still pining in exile at Pisa, Innocent was supported and encouraged by the visits and tender words of such ardent partisans as Peter the Venerable. "With the love of a son," wrote the abbot, "I beg you to bear bravely the burdens of the Church which the will not of man but of God has laid upon you. Be not wearied at the length of time your troubles are lasting, since God, who has united His whole Church in you, and has placed nearly the whole world at your feet, will soon subject those very few who are still opposed to you, and will, as is His wont, raise the name of Catholic above that of every heresy and schism. . . . As far as I am concerned, and as far as the

[1] *Cf.* Landulf jun., *Hist. Mediol.*, c. 41, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v., who calls the saint the Pope's "idoneum Angelum."

[2] Ernald., ii. c. 2–4; Landulf, *ib.*, c. 42.

[3] "Juravit (the new Milanese archbishop to the Pope), et jurando libertatem ecclesiæ Mediolanensis in contrarium convertit." Landulf, c. 43. *Cf.* note 15, p. 514, and n. 3, p. 517, of Muratori to Landulf. See on this Milanese affair epp. Bernardi, 131–134; and ep. 137, which was addressed to the emperor, and not to the empress, as is sometimes thought.

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monks of Cluny are concerned, we are ready, whilst we have breath in our nostrils, to obey you, to work for you, and, if need be, to die for you. Nothing can separate us from our Pastor, from Peter, from Christ, all of whom we have in you. Wherever you are our obedience and devotion will be with you. As the poet[1] puts it: 'When Camillus was at Veii Rome was there too,' and Peter in prison, Clement in exile, and Marcellus in the stable ruled the Church of God no less than if they had been in the Lateran."[2]

Lothaire again entreated to undertake a second expedition to Rome.

Meanwhile, Roger's steady advance in power in south Italy was rousing enemies of all kinds against him; for he attacked with equal impartiality any who stood in his way. With his fleets he harried the coast-line of the Greek empire with the same unconcern as he preyed upon Venetian traders. Hence envoys from the Greek emperor and from the doge of Venice concurred with St. Bernard and the Pope in urging Lothaire to take up arms against the common foe.[3] While impressing upon the emperor that it did not become him "to exhort to battle," St. Bernard assured him that "it was the duty of the Church's advocate to protect the Church from the madness of the schismatics, and it was the prerogative of Cesar to uphold his own crown against the Sicilian usurper. For as a Jew by descent has seized upon the See of Peter to the injury of Christ, so without doubt everyone who makes himself a king in Sicily speaketh against Cesar."[4] Unable to resist the urgent appeals that came to him from so many quarters, Lothaire, with the advice of his nobles given in

[1] Lucan, *Phars.*, v., v. 28. [2] Ep. i. 1 *sub fin.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189.

[3] *Chron. S. Petri Erford.*, 1135; *Chron. Cosmæ contin. Wissegrad.*, 1135; *Annalista Saxo*, 1135, etc. "A papa . . . frequentibus litteris monitus (Lotharius)," etc. *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 97. *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. Normande*, ii. 55 f.

[4] Ep. Bern. 139.

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diets at Spires and Aix-la-Chapelle, decided on war; and St. Bernard was soon able to report to the Pope that the emperor was "collecting an exceedingly great army."[1]

Lothaire descends into Italy, 1136.

This time it was with a really imposing force that Lothaire left Würzburg for Italy (August 1136), and men in that country asked themselves in terror what they were to do or to say.[2] When Lothaire entered north Italy some cities at once submitted to him, while others, as usual, actively opposed him, either because they disliked imperial interference in their affairs, or because they so detested some of their neighbours that they would not be on the same side with them. However, after about six months' campaigning, he succeeded in inspiring respect for the imperial authority over the whole of north Italy.[3] Then, marching along the east coast, he entered Apulia in April, while his son-in-law Henry, duke of Bavaria, joining the Pope at Grosseto (March 1137), entered Campania.[4] The plan was to subdue Roger before attacking Rome. The same success attended the armies of Lothaire in south Italy as in north;[5] or, as the chroniclers of the time express it, in Italy[6] and in Apulia. Breaking down all opposition as he marched along, the duke of Bavaria, after putting Innocent in possession of Benevento, effected a junction with the emperor at Bari at the end of May.[7]

[1] *Ib.*, 176. [2] *Chron. Cas.*, *ib.*

[3] Otto Fris., vii. 19.

[4] Falco and *Annalista Saxo*, 1137. "Omnibus ei (Innocent) se præter Romam usque Beneventum tradentibus," *Ann. Cas.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. p. 64, and p. 141.

[5] In July the Pope could write: "(Deus) ita fecit prosperum iter nostrum, ut ab urbe Roma usque Barrum (Bari), vix aliqua civitas castrumve remanserit quod b. Petro et nobis subjectum et obediens non existat."

[6] "Ita compositis in *Italia* rebus, imperator Apuliam ingressus," etc. *Ann. Saxo*, 1137.

[7] *Ann. Magdeburg.*, 1137, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. Bari "quæ totius Apuliæ caput est." *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 106.

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Mutineers endanger the life of the Pope.

After these striking successes of the imperial troops, difficulties began to beset both the emperor and the Pope. If Roger could not successfully stay Lothaire's advance by force, he contrived to hamper it by guile. His gold begot or fanned sedition in his enemy's camp. Anxious to return to their homes, a number of the German soldiers allowed themselves to be persuaded that the Pope, his cardinals, and the archbishop of Trier were the cause of the war.[1] At Melfi these men mutinied, and, but for the personal intervention of the emperor, the Pope and his suite might have been killed.

Disagreements between the Pope and the emperor,

A little severity soon quelled this disturbance, but misunderstandings between Innocent and Lothaire or the duke were not so easily terminated. The first trouble between the Pope and one of the leaders of the German armies arose at Viterbo. After the people of that city who had declared for Anacletus had been compelled by Duke Henry to submit, he exacted an indemnity from them of three thousand talents.[2] "Thereupon," we are told, "a great dissension arose between the Pope and the duke. The former claimed the money on the ground that it came from one of his cities (*ex proprietate suæ civitatis*), while the latter held to it as spoils of war."[3]

(*a*) Concerning Monte Cassino.

More serious differences arose somewhat later between Innocent and the emperor himself. Raynald of Tuscany,

[1] Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, 1132, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 188; Cinnamus, *Epitome*, iii. 1; Otto Fris., vii. 20; *Annalista Saxo*, 1137, A great sedition arose "illis (the Pope, etc.) imputare volentium consulto eorum . . . reditum ad propria prolongari. Hoc tumultu excitus imperator ascenso equo intervenit, et severe in noxios vindicavit."

[2] The talent had several different equivalents in the Middle Ages; but about the period of which we are treating it seems to have been generally equivalent to the silver mark, which was worth 160 silver pennies, when 240 of them were equal to a pound of silver. Hence the value of the mark is given as 13s. 4d.

[3] *Annalista Saxo*, 1137.

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to secure his election as abbot of Monte Cassino, had thrown in his lot with the antipope and Roger of Sicily.[1] Naturally, therefore, Duke Henry, when on his way to join the emperor, reached Monte Cassino, he endeavoured to take possession of the abbey. But its great strength defied him, and, to the vexation of Innocent, the duke marched away content that Raynald should acknowledge the emperor, if not the Pope.[2] Later on, too, at the close of a long dispute about the privileges of Monte Cassino between the representatives of Innocent and Raynald's adherents in presence of Lothaire himself, the emperor put pressure on the Pope to induce him to become reconciled to the scheming abbot on condition that he should take an oath of simple obedience to him (July 1137).[3] Hence though Raynald and a number of his supporters appeared barefoot before the Pope, and abjured Anacletus, the question of their acknowledging Innocent as the overlord of Monte Cassino was allowed by the emperor to remain in abeyance. He wished to have the great abbey under his own control.

But Raynald was a true child of this world, wise in his own generation. Foreseeing the ultimate triumph of Roger, he would seem to have at once made overtures to him. At any rate, acting on the information of the treason of the abbot which had been brought to him,[4] Lothaire promptly

[1] Peter the Deacon, *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 104. The rival candidate was Raynald of Collemezzo. When the disputed election arose the superiors wished the matter to be referred to Pope *Innocent* (Romanum pontificem tunc Pisis remorantem) and King Roger, which shows that Monte Cassino did not then recognise Anacletus. *Cf.* Tosti, *Storia di Monte Cassino*, ii. 63 ff., ed. Napoli, 1842.

[2] *Chron. Cas*, iv. 105.

[3] *Ib.*, iv. 108–115. This recital of the vain deacon is acknowledged on all hands to be full of lies, and the documents with which he bolstered up the claims of the abbey are allowed to be forgeries.

[4] Peter, *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 118.

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caused him to be seized. Again the Pope and the emperor were in disagreement as to who had the right to deal with the recalcitrant prelate. Most likely by the mediation of St. Bernard, who was with the Pope all this time, the emperor withdrew his claim to judge of the validity of an ecclesiastical election, and the abbot was deposed in due canonical form[1] (September 1137).

But with views so fundamentally different as to their respective rights, Innocent and Lothaire could not agree. They had quarrelled over the right to depose the abbot of Monte Cassino, and they disagreed about the election of his successor. Each wished to secure an abbot after his own heart. At length, however, the emperor, finding the monks of his way of thinking, threatened the Pope that he would cut the Empire off from communion with him if he did not allow them freely to elect anyone they chose.[2] Unwilling in his dependent position to drive matters to extremity, and seemingly imposed upon by the false or interpolated documents produced by the deacon Peter, Innocent gave way, and the monks elected Wibald, abbot of Stablo, a trusted adviser of the emperor, who with his

[1] *Ib.*, iv. 119–122. "Virgam et anulum nec non et regulam supra corpus Benedicti deposuit (Raynald)." C. 122. Peter notes that on this occasion the emperor assumed the golden circlet of the Patricius, "coronam circuli patricialis," the symbol of the pretensions to dominion over the Church put forth by the emperors.

[2] "Papam per suos nuntios rogat (Lothaire), ut monachorum voluntati condescendat; sin autem, imperium ab illo die et deinceps scissum a pontificio esse omnimodis sciret." *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 124. *Cf.* 112. It is difficult to know how far to trust the statements of the false and vain deacon. According to a diploma of Lothaire printed by Tosti, *Storia di M. Cas.*, ii. 191 f., the emperor states that, after the canonical deposition of Raynald, "sustituimus abbatem Stabulensis ecclesiæ nomine Guibaldum, virum curiæ nostræ acceptum," etc., and that, "after a long altercation," Innocent, overcome by the privileges of Popes and emperors that were shown him, allowed that the ordering (the dispensatio et ordinatio) of the monastery belonged to the emperors.

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sceptre at once invested him with the temporalities of the abbey.

(δ) Concerning a new duke for Apulia.

Previous to this, on the fall of Salerno (August 1137), differences had arisen between the Pope and the emperor as to which of them the city belonged,[1] and as to which of them should invest the new duke of Apulia, Rainulf of Alife. In the end he was invested by both of them with a standard, the Pope holding the upper part of the banner and the emperor the lower.[2]

The emperor returns to Germany to die, 1137.

But the heroic old emperor was now feeling the weight of his years, and, full of the thought of approaching death, was anxious to return to Germany. On his return march, he took several places in the neighbourhood of Rome that stood for the antipope,[3] and at Tivoli received the submission of Ptolomey, "duke and consul of the Romans, and dictator of the people of Tusculum."[4] At Farfa he parted company with Innocent, who proceeded to Rome, whilst he continued his march towards Germany (October).[5] Ardent as was his desire to see once more his native land, it could not sustain his enfeebled body, and the "great emperor breathed his last in a wretched hovel in an Alpine pass" as he was leaving Italy by the valley of the Trent[6] (December 3, 1137).

With justice was Lothaire praised by his contemporaries for his valour and his generalship, his piety, and his love of justice. His choleric disposition, however, led him at times, as we have seen, to try to bully the Pope he was

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 117.

[2] Romuald, an. 1133, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. p. 189. *Cf.* Otto Fris., vii. 20; Falco, *Chron.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 173, p. 1238; Boso. Roger had meanwhile fled to Sicily.

[3] *Ann. Saxo*, an. 1137.

[4] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 125.

[5] *Ann. Saxo*, 1137.

[6] Otto Fris., vii. 20; *Ann. Saxo*, 1137. Peter the deacon says he died "morbo simul et senio fessus" (iv. 126). Elsewhere (iv. 124) he absurdly says that he was a hundred years old.

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protecting. But the words of the wise, those for instance of St. Bernard, and of his wife, his own common sense, and the tact and firmness of Innocent, ever saved him from extreme measures. And yet no one who has thought over the relations of Innocent with him can have failed to contrast his independent words with the obsequious subservience of the antipope towards Roger of Sicily.[1] With a succession of Lothaires the Church would soon have been in peace and in honour; the Empire would have become stronger and stronger;[2] and the story we have to tell would have been more like a sweet pastoral than the terrible tragedy which the Hohenstaufen made it.

Innocent again in Rome, Oct. 1137.

Precluded by ill-health, as we have seen, from completing his work of establishing Innocent by expelling Anacletus from Rome, Lothaire contented himself with accepting the oath of fealty of the consul of the Romans, and with leaving Innocent to effect what he could for himself in the Eternal City.[3] When, however, he bade farewell to the Pope towards the end of October, he left with him an ally who was of more value to him than an emperor's army. He left with him Bernard of Cîteaux, who, while Innocent betook himself to Rome, at once proceeded to

[1] "In quibus (the tents of Roger) inventa sunt privilegia, in quibus Petrus Leonis ipsam Romam et ab inde usque Siciliam totam ei terram concesserat," etc. See the letter of Bishop Henry "vicariis Innocentii," ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 442 f.

[2] "Futurus, nisi morte præventus foret, cujus virtute et industria corona imperii ad pristinam dignitatem reduceretur." Otto Fris., *l.c.* On the leaden tablet which was buried with him, he is described as: "increaser of the Empire." Cited by Curtis, *Roger the Great*, p. 191.

[3] Some authorities suppose that Lothaire's army had become as weak as himself, and that he dared not attempt to drive Anacletus out of Rome. *Cf. Ann. S. Mariæ Ultrajectenses*, 1137, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xv. 1302. They speak: "fracto exercitu, consumptis omnibus," and point out that the emperor left the Pope "in fortuna sua et statu veteri."

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Apulia to meet the dreaded Roger of Sicily.[1] When the Pope entered Rome he found that, though Anacletus still held the Leonine city, and seemingly the Lateran also, the majority of the city was in his favour, and he had no difficulty in maintaining himself therein till the death of the antipope (January 25, 1138).

St. Bernard with Roger, 1137.

Meanwhile the work of the emperor in south Italy was being undone even more quickly than it had been accomplished. No sooner had Lothaire begun to move northwards than Roger left Sicily, having in his army a number of Saracens—savages whom, as the sequel will show, the kings of Sicily were very fond of employing in their wars (October, early, 1137). The speed with which he reconquered the mainland was only equalled by the barbarity with which he defiled his conquests. Old and young, high and low were butchered, churches were profaned, and nuns were outraged.[2] The angry monarch would not listen to the pleadings for peace either of St. Bernard or abbot Wibald. Indeed, he declared he would hang the latter if ever he fell into his hands.[3] However, when checked for a brief space by a defeat inflicted on him by Lothaire's regent, Duke Rainulf (October 30), in order to gain time he expressed a wish to have the question of the double election of Innocent and Anacletus debated in his presence. Accordingly, about the beginning of December there appeared before him St. Bernard on behalf of Innocent, the great canonist,

[1] "Moved by the pressing request of the emperor, by the apostolic command, as well as by the prayers of the Church and of the princes, . . . weak and ill . . . I am borne away into Apulia." Ep. Bern., 144. *Cf.* 145.

[2] To Falco, Romuald, and Peter the Deacon add Wibald, ep. 11, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Corbeiensia.*

[3] Wibald only escaped that fate by flight (November 2, 1137). *Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iv. 127.

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Cardinal Peter of Pisa,[1] on behalf of Anacletus, and two others on each side.

"The Lord's tunic," cried St. Bernard, "which at the time of His passion neither pagan nor Jew dare rend, Pierleone has, through the support of the king here, torn in twain. There is one Faith, one Lord, one Baptism . . . and there was one Ark at the time of the Deluge. . . . And who is there who does not know that that Ark is the type of the Church. . . . But now as there are two arks one must be a counterfeit one, and will be submerged. If the ark steered by Pierleone is of God, it will be saved; and the ark steered by Innocent, if it be not of God, will be wrecked. Then with it will be wrecked the Church of the Orient, and those of France, Germany, Ireland, and England, and of the nations of the barbarians. Then also will be wrecked the Orders of the Camalduli, Carthusians, Cluniacs, Cistercians, and the others. . . . Roger alone of all the Princes of the world has entered the ark of Pierleone. Are all the others to be lost, and is he alone to be saved? It cannot be that the world should perish, and that the ambitious Pierleone, whose life is so well known, should win the kingdom of Heaven."[2]

But if the eloquence of the saint was lost upon Roger, anxious to keep his kingly title and the papal patrimonies he had seized, it gained to the cause of Innocent Cardinal Peter, the most distinguished of the adherents of Anacletus. And when Bernard returned to Rome to make known to Innocent the want of success of his mission (*c.* Christmas 1137), he soon gained over to him many of the partisans of the antipope.[3]

[1] Falco, 1137; Ernald., *in vit. Bern.*, ii. 7, n. 43 and n. 45. Among those present on Innocent's behalf was Guido of Castello, afterwards Celestine II.

[2] *Chron. ignot. mon. Cisterc.*, an. 1137, p. 23 f., ed. Gaudenzi.

[3] Ernald., *l.c.*, n. 46. "Rex necdum voluit obedire, quia S. Petri

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What had been so well advanced by St. Bernard was brought to an abrupt termination by the hand of God. Anacletus died suddenly on January 25, 1138, and his party buried him so secretly that the place of his sepulture was never publicly known.[1] An immediate result of the antipope's demise was, as one of our English historians expressed it, that Innocent began to exercise his authority over the city as freely as he had hitherto exercised it over "the whole monarchy of the Church."[2]

Death of Anacletus, 1138.

Unfortunately, however, the sudden death of Anacletus did not put an immediate end to the schism. With a view to making better terms with Innocent,[3] a number of those most deeply pledged to the cause of Anacletus sent word to Roger that, if he were wishful, they would elect a successor to him. Only too pleased to distract his enemies, Roger "gave them power to elect a pope."[4] This they did about the middle of March, saluting Gregory, cardinal-priest of the Holy Apostles, as Victor IV. But no one took this election seriously. The Romans promptly nicknamed Victor, "Carnecorius,"[5] and his supporters soon allowed themselves to be gained over by the words of St. Bernard or by the gold of Innocent.[6] Victor secured the intercession of the saint in his behalf, and then, "on the

Election of another antipope and the end of the schism, 1138.

patrimonium, quod in Cassinensi et Beneventana provincia amplissimum est, cupidus occupaverat," etc. *Cf.* ep. Bernard., 213, and *Mon. Cisterc.*, p. 24, ed. Gaudenzi.

[1] Ernald., *l.c.*, n. 47; ep. Bern., 147; Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, xiii. 35 al. 17; Falco, 1137 *sub fin.* As was noted in the biography of Calixtus II., even the effort which the antipope made to perpetuate his memory in the Lateran was frustrated.

[2] John of Hexham, *Hist. Dunelm.*, 1138, ap. Twysden, p. 263, "Innocentius vero libera auctoritate in urbe sicut prius in orbe ecclesiasticæ monarchiæ præsedit dignitate."

[3] So at least say Ernald., *l.c.*, and Boso.

[4] Falco, 1138.

[5] Boso.

[6] Ernald., *l.c.*, says by the former (*cf.* ep. Bern., 317); Peter the deacon, not unnaturally, says by the latter, *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 130.

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very day of the octave of Pentecost (May 29, 1138) . . . all the supporters of Peter Leonis came to prostrate themselves together at the feet of the Pope, and to take an oath of fidelity to him, and become his liege men. The schismatic clergy also, together with the idol (Victor IV.) whom they had set up, knelt at the feet of the lord Pope to promise him obedience with all formalities, and there was great joy among the people."[1] They acclaimed St. Bernard the "Father of their country"; and if they could not retain among them "the one who for more than seven years had toiled hard for the healing of the schism, they could accompany him out of their city in profound grief."[2]

Rome after the final establishment of Innocent.

Under Innocent's firm rule Rome revived. Visitors flocked to it from all sides. Trade and religion both sprang into active life; wastes were recultivated, churches were repaired, and the monastery of St. Anastasius at Tre Fontane, rebuilt and re-endowed, was handed over to St. Bernard and his monks at Clairvaux.[3] In a word, to quote Boso, "the city enjoyed such peace as it had not known for many years." From the days of Pope Calixtus II. "the school of Roman art had been constituting itself anew," and in "the superb structure of S. Maria in Trastevere," which Innocent entirely rebuilt,[4] "we hail once more a perfect art, as perfect as that which created S. Maria Maggiore in the fourth and fifth centuries. . . . In fact, under Innocent II. greater strides were made in reconstructing and adorning the city, and in forming a style of architecture, than under any other Pope since Paschal."[5]

[1] Ep. Bernard. 317. *Cf.* Ernald, *l.c.* [2] Ernald, ii. 7, n. 47.

[3] *Ib.*, n. 48; *cf.* iii. 7, n. 24, and epp. Bern., 343–5. Vacandard, ii. 68 ff. Bernard of Pisa, whom St. Bernard sent to rule this monastery, afterwards became Pope Eugenius III.

[4] Boso and the more strictly contemporary canon Benedict (ap. *L. P.*, ii. 384, n. 1), who adds, "apsidem ejus aureis metallis decoravit."

[5] Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, pp. 127–8.

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Photo Alinari

The Apse of Sta. Maria in Trastevere.
(Twelfth century.)

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Of the mosaics which still adorn different parts of S. Maria in Trastevere, and which display the portrait of Innocent, the only one which dates precisely from his time is the one on the hemispherical vault of the apse. In its centre are the figures of our Lord and our Lady on the same throne. The Madonna is on the right of our Lord, whose right hand is seen resting on her right shoulder, and whose left hand holds a book with the inscription, "Veni electa mea, et ponam in te thronum meum." To the left of our Lord are four saints, and on the right of the Madonna, the last of three figures, is Pope Innocent himself, holding the model of the Church. He is represented as wearing a beard, and with the pallium above a chasuble which half covers a tunic. Though his figure, like those of the other six standing figures, is "short, thickset, and lame in attitude," that of the Madonna, "splendidly dressed as a true Queen of the East," is not so. "It is one of those figures that dwell upon the memory; her pose is really beautiful, and her countenance of a sweetness quite Christian, with almost the purity of features of an antique."[1] It is an excellent

[1] Parker (quoting Vitet), *Mediæval Church and Altar Decorations*, p. 40, Oxford, 1876. *Cf.* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, i. 69 (ed. 1903). Beneath the figures runs the following inscription in letters of gold, the two verses in the middle coming under the throne:

Hec in honore tuo perfulgida Mater honoris
Regia divini rutilat fulgore decoris
In qua Criste sedes manet ultra secula sedes
Digna tuis dextris est qua tegit aurea vestis
Cm̃ moles ruitura vetus foret hinc oriundus
Innocentius hanc renovavit Papa secundus.

No doubt it would read more correctly as follows:

"Hæc in honore tuo perfulgida mater honoris
Regia divini rutilat fulgore decoris
In qua Christi sedes manet ultra sæcula, sedes
Digna tuis dextris est, quam tegit aurea vestis,
Cum moles ruitura factus foret hinc oriundus
Innocentius hunc renovavit papa secundus."

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example of the revival of Roman art which, never altogether dead, was at this period making a rapid advance along all its lines.

At his own expense Innocent also replaced, with beams supplied to him by King Roger of Sicily, the roof of the Lateran basilica, which had suddenly collapsed during his reign. Besides also repairing the tower in front of the basilica, which seemed about to fall, he enriched the basilica with vestments and splendid ornaments of various kinds.[1] He also renovated (*quassatam reparavit*) the curious old church of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Celian; buttressed St. Paul's outside-the-walls; added two chambers to the Lateran palace, one of which contained the frescos and inscriptions which were to annoy Frederic Barbarossa;[2] and "executed many other important works in his time."[3]

Ap. Müller, *Die Röm. Päpste*, x. 299, Wien, 1847 ff., cited by Besso. *Roma, e il Papa nei Proverbi*, p. 225, Rome, 1904. The first and the last two verses relate to the history of the church, and set forth that it is in honour of the glorious Mother of honour that this noble building is resplendent with divine beauty—this ancient structure which Pope Innocent II. renewed when it was about to fall to pieces. The two centre verses proclaim that in this temple Christ has a throne, a throne which will endure beyond all time, a throne worthy of his right hand, a throne covered with gold. The inscription is given in the *L. P.*, ii. 384, etc.

[1] John the Deacon, *Lib. de eccles. Lat.*, c. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78 or t. 194; Boso.

[2] The frescos showed Lothaire II. taking an oath to respect the privileges of the Romans; received by the Pope; and crowned by him; and bore the famous inscription already quoted. Panvinio saw the frescos in the sixteenth century. *Cf. supra*, p. 41.

[3] Boso. Among these "other important works" executed by Innocent was the renovating of the portico which led from the bridge of St. Angelo to St. Peter's. He re-roofed it throughout nearly its entire length. Peter Mallius, a contemporary canon of St. Peter's, who gives us this item of information in his *Hist. basil. S. Petri*, p. 54 (printed ap. *Acta SS.*, June, vii. p. 37 ff.), also says that he decorated the altar of St. Peter's with a great cross of silver gilt, and with coverings of gold embroidery, and that he repaired the stational cross.

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Many at least of these works were not begun till after the Pope had made his peace with King Roger.

The Lateran council, 1139.

Among the other virtues, or vices, possessed by Innocent was undoubtedly a warlike disposition. No sooner had he received the submission of Victor IV., than he collected an army and marched to the support of Duke Rainulf, who was holding his own against Roger. But an illness which overtook him at Albano caused him for the time to turn his thoughts in another direction.[1] With a view to removing the last traces of the schism, and to carrying on the work of reform, he summoned the bishops of Christendom to meet in Rome on *Lætare* Sunday (April 2, 1139).[2]

A very large number of prelates[3] responded to the mandate of the Pope, and the business of the synod, known as the tenth ecumenical council, began on Monday, April 3. The proceedings were opened by an address to the assembled bishops from the Pope, who, says the chronicler of Morigny, "was superior to all the others in splendour of apparel (*habitus preciositate*), in venerableness of appearance, and in learning." "You know," he said, "that Rome is the head of the world, and that from the Roman Pontiff all ecclesiastical honours are received, as though by feudal custom, and that without his permission they cannot be lawfully (*legaliter*) held." That being the case, he proceeded to point out the evils of a divided headship, and to remind his audience that, according to St. Augustine,[4] whoever was cut off from the Catholic faith, no matter how

[1] Falco, 1138.

[2] *Hist. Compostel.*, iii. c. ult., where we are told that the bishop of Lescar (Lascurrensis), legate *a latere* in Spain, invited the Spanish bishops and abbots to go to Rome "in Quadragesima Dominica in qua 'Lætare Jerusalem' universa cantat Ecclesia."

[3] "Incomparabili omnium prælatorum conventu," says *Chron. Maurin.*, iii. c. 3. The actual number of the prelates present varies in the chroniclers from 500 to 1000.

[4] Sermo 265, ap. *P. L.*, t. 88, p. 1223.

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well he might think he was living, was, by the one crime of being separated from the unity of Christ, devoid of life, and under the anger of God. Those then, he continued, amid the applause of the assembly,[1] who are in this state must be dealt with severely, and so "whatever Peter Leonis decreed we annul, whomsoever he exalted we degrade, and whomsoever he consecrated we desecrate (*exordinamus*) and depose." Having thus roused both himself and his hearers, Innocent violently upbraided the guilty by name, and mercilessly stripped them of their crosiers, their palliums, and their episcopal rings.[2] Among those who had already been treated with a justice which, to say the best of it, was unseasoned with mercy, was Cardinal Peter of Pisa, whom St. Bernard had brought in penance to Innocent's feet. An indignant letter to the Pope from the saint had been the result. "If," he wrote with the independence of a prophet, "I had a judge before whom I could take you, I would quickly show you what you deserve: I speak as one in travail. There is, indeed, the tribunal of Christ (and here he spoke with the respectful love of a Catholic for the Vicar of Christ); but far be it from me to summon you there; for if it were necessary for you and possible for me, I would far rather stand there and answer for you with all my strength. And so I appeal to him to whom in this life power has been given to judge all things, *i.e.*, to you yourself."[3] No more is known of this incident. It is quite possible that Innocent may have

[1] "Cunctisque religiosis viris, quibus illud detestabile scisma displicuerat, verbis ejus cum magno laude unanimiter adclamantibus." *Chron. Maurin.*, *l.c.*

[2] "Ipsos quoque anulos, in quibus ad ipsos pertinens ecclesie desponsacio exprimitur, sine respectu misericordie abstulit." *Ib.* The Pope's legate in Aquitaine, by his orders, destroyed all the altars which Gerard of Angoulême had consecrated "in the days of that detestable schism." *Ib.* c. 4.

[3] Ep. Bern., 213.

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been put in possession of damaging facts concerning Cardinal Peter which were unknown to St. Bernard, but it is perhaps more probable that another's "advice or rather craft had stealthily undone what his indulgence had granted, and made void the words which had proceeded from his lips."[1]

Before the council broke up the Fathers issued a number of decrees on the old lines against simony, clerical incontinence, usury, tournaments, the study of medicine and of civil law by clerics for gain, and against those (the followers of Peter of Bruys) "who, under the guise of religion, deny the sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, infant baptism, the sacrament of Orders, and lawful matrimony."[2] The ordinations of Anacletus and his followers were declared null and void,[3] and King Roger was again declared excommunicated.[4] Moreover, according to Otto of Frising, the Pope ordered that Arnold of Brescia, of whom we shall have more to say later, should leave Italy and preach no more.[5]

Archbishop Theobald and English bishops at the council.

At a council in London over which he had presided (December 1138), Alberic, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, had invited "all the bishops and many of the abbots of England to a general council which the sovereign Pope Innocent"

[1] *Ib.*

[2] *Cf.* Peter the Venerable, *Tract. contra Petrobrusianos*, pp. 722, 6, etc., ap. *P. L.*, t. 189.

[3] Jaffé, i. 885; Labbe, x. 999 ff. [4] Falco, 1139.

[5] *De gest. Fred.*, ii. 28. *Cf.* the Cistercian monk Gunther, who in 1187 wrote a poem, *Ligurinus*, on the doings of the Emperor Frederick I., especially in *Liguria* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 212):

> "Mox in concilio Romæ damnatus ab illo
> Præsule, qui numeros vetitum contingere nostros
> Nomen ab innocua ducit laudabile vita" etc.,
> iii. v. 300 ff.

The idea that the *Ligurinus* was a humanist production of the fifteenth century is now abandoned.

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was to hold in the following Lent.[1] However, "to represent the bishops and abbots of England there went to the said council Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury," and four bishops, with as many abbots; "for King Stephen would not send any more on account of the troubles of his kingdom, which were then very great."[2] The historians of our country tell us of the great honour with which our bishops were received by the Apostolic See, and of the importance of the Lateran council, "an event without parallel for many past ages." After he had received his pallium from Innocent, Theobald and his fellow bishops from England "returned joyfully to their own country, bringing with them the synodal decrees, now enrolled far and wide throughout England."[3]

Innocent a prisoner in the hands of Roger, 1139.

The Lateran council was hardly over ere the death of the imperial governor of Apulia, Duke Rainulf (April 30), inclined the balance of power in south Italy wholly in favour of King Roger, and caused Innocent to commit the great mistake of his life.

On the death of Lothaire, the princes of the Empire, in the presence and largely under the influence of the papal legate Cardinal Theodwin, had elected as his successor his former rival, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, duke of Franconia, the younger brother of Frederick of Swabia and grandson of Henry IV. He was crowned by the papal legate,

[1] See the contemporary narrative of the well-informed Richard of Hexham, *De gestis Stephani*, 1138, ap. Twysden.

[2] *Ib.* There is extant in the British Museum a letter in which Innocent dispenses Nigel, bishop of Ely, from attending the council. Jaffé, 8028.

[3] Florence of Worcester, *Chron.*, 1139; Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, xiii. 39. Ordericus regrets that the wickedness of kings and people prevented much good from coming from the apostolic decrees. Ralph de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.*, 1138, ap. Twysden, p. 507; John of Hexham, *Hist. Dunelm.*, 1139, ap. *ib.*, p. 265. John, like Richard of Hexham, was a contemporary.

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because the archbishop of Cologne, to whom the coronation of the king belonged by right, had only just been enthroned, and was incapable of acting as archbishop because he had not up to that time received his pallium from Rome.[1] Difficulties which immediately arose between the new king and the powerful Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria, along with his brother Welf, kept his attention riveted on Germany.

It was during the reign of Lothaire that the Welf family was consolidated, formed a party, that of the Guelfs, and began its opposition to the Ghibelline (or Waiblingen) party of the house of Hohenstaufen. But it was whilst his successor Conrad III. was fighting Duke Welf that the terrible battle-cry of Guelf and Ghibelline was heard for the first time (1140).

As a rule the Welf family, strong in their ancestral and feudal property and in their personal influence with the Saxons, were attached to the Apostolic See. But in the year 1139 Roger of Sicily contrived to use them against its interests, for he continued to subsidise them in their struggle against Conrad, and so effectually prevented the king from listening to the appeals for help which reached him from south Italy.[2]

In May (1139) Roger landed in the peninsula an army from Sicily, and in June Innocent, unable to obtain any assistance from Conrad, was himself marching against him

[1] Otto Fris., *Chron.*, vii. 22. The cardinal promised the adhesion to Conrad of the Roman people and the cities of Italy. "A predicto cardinale—nam Coloniensis qui id facere jure debuerat, noviter introni-zatus pallio carebat—in regem (Conrad) ungitur." *Cf. Ann. Mellicenses*, an. 1138, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. (they make the cardinal share in the election of Conrad), and *Ann. Magd.*, ap. *M. G. SS.* xvi.

[2] In consequence of Roger's gold, all during Conrad's life Welf "pro Rogerio stetit et regnum pro viribus impedivit." Herman, abbot of Altaich, *Annales*, 1140, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. Herman, born in 1200–1, wrote very valuable annals from 1137 to 1273, the year of his death.

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to the support of Robert of Capua, the only one capable of offering any effective resistance to the invader. By the beginning of July the papal army, ravaging the country as it went along, had reached San Germano. Roger, who was then besieging Troia, at once made overtures for peace, and at the request of Innocent came to San Germano. But they could not come to any agreement, as the king would not listen to the Pope's demand that Capua should be restored to Robert. Accordingly, when Roger resumed his work of subjugating his opponents, Innocent again took the field. After some trifling successes, however, his army was surprised by Roger on the banks of the Garigliano at Mignano, near Galluccio, in the province of Caserta; and though Robert of Capua escaped, the Pope and all his court fell into the hands of the king (July 22).[1]

The treaty of Mignano; Roger acknowledged as king, 1139.

Then was repeated the scene between St. Leo IX. and Robert Guiscard. With one hand Roger offered respectful greetings to the Pope; with the other he held him as in a vice. At first Innocent, whose misfortune was deeply bewailed by his subjects,[2] would not listen to the king's proposals; but at last, as he found himself more and more helpless, and was more and more impressed with the sufferings of his fellow-captives, he realised that there was nothing left for him but to assent to his wishes. On July 25 he recognised Roger as king of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, and the principality of Capua, and with three banners invested Roger as king, one of his sons (Roger) as duke of Apulia, and Alphonsus, another son, as prince of Capua. The Garigliano was to separate the states of the

[1] Falco, 1139. *Cf. Ann. Ceccanenses* and other annals, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.; *Ann. Cavenses*, ap. *ib.*, iii.; Romuald of Salerno, an. 1133, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 190; *Ann. Herbipolenses*, 1140, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 2.

[2] "O quantus luctus et mœroris abundantia mentes fidelium et civitates Apostolici invasit." Falco, *l.c.*

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Church from the kingdom of the two Sicilies. On his side Roger was to recognise Innocent as his suzerain, and to pay him six hundred *schifati* every year for Apulia and Capua.[1] The Sicilian king was satisfied. His kingly title would now be recognised by all the sovereigns of Europe. He was, moreover, a vassal of the Holy See, which would at no time count for much in the way of dependence, and not of the Empire, which at any time might mean the loss of his royal title, and strict subjection.

Troubles after the peace.

Although, after the conclusion of the treaty, the Pope and the king journeyed amicably together to Benevento,[2] and although no serious trouble afterwards broke out between them, Innocent had often to complain of Roger's encroachments both in the temporal and in the spiritual order. When in 1140 the troops of the Sicilian monarch crossed the Pescara, and began to subdue the old Marsian territories "on the borders of the Romans," Innocent grew anxious, and, "on the advice of the Romans," sent certain cardinals to bid the Normans not to attack what belonged

[1] "Coactus captione non tantum sui set populi Romani, regi vexilla tria tradidit," etc. *Ann. Cavenses*, 1138, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii. Inn. confirmed to Roger all the territory "a fluvio Cartello." *Ann. Herbipolenses*, an. 1140, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. *Cf.* Falco, 1139; *Ann. Cas.*, 1139; Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, i. 24 al. 29; Romuald, *l.c.*, and the papal bull (ep. 416), of July 27. From some phrases in his bull, Innocent has been accused of wanting to conceal the truth, and of trying to make out that it was Honorius II. who had created the kingdom of Sicily (Chalandon, *Hist. de la dom. Normande*, ii. 91). But considering how notorious had been the granting of the kingly title to Roger by Anacletus, it cannot be considered likely that Innocent would attempt to burke such a well-known fact. He merely wished to show that he was not *de facto* doing much more than his predecessors had already done. *Cf. supra*, vol. viii. p. 255. The *schifatus* was a convex-shaped Byzantine coin worth, in 1269 at any rate, eight *taris* of gold, *i.e.*, somewhat more than a quarter of an ounce of Sicilian gold; *i.e.*, a *schifatus* had about the same value as an English sovereign. See Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 16, text and notes.

[2] *Mon. Cisterc.*, p. 25.

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to others. But an answer came promptly to the effect that they were merely seeking to recover lands which, belonging to the principality of Capua, were their own.[1] So strained did the relations between Innocent and Roger thereupon become that, when the latter requested an interview, the Pope, alleging the weather and business, refused to meet him.[2] Nor was the tension lessened when Roger attempted, though in vain, to force the papal city of Benevento to accept his debased coinage, which, as the governor of the city pointed out, spelt death for the commerce of Italy.[3] And when, in reply to Innocent's protests against his appointing bishops, Roger replied that he was not disposed to give up customs which his predecessors had held from the time of Guiscard,[4] a dispute was begun which passed on to the days of Eugenius III.[5]

Innocent returns to Rome.

When once Innocent had accepted Roger's terms, he strove to promote peace. He bade the cities of south Italy submit to their king,[6] and then, hearkening to the prayers of the Romans, returned to the city, which gave him a splendid reception.[7] The last act of the schism had been played; but, at least to human eyes, the play does not seem to have ended well. One of the chief *villains* of the piece, the main supporter of the schism, emerges out of it in improved prosperity, while one of its principal heroes, Lothaire, reaps death, and his successor, Conrad, dishonour from it.[8]

[1] Falco, 1140. [2] *Ib.*

[3] "Cum ad totius Italiæ mortem monetarum illarum introductio spectaret." *Ib.*

[4] *Chron. ignoti mon. Cisterc.*, ann. 1140–1, p. 27, ed. Gaudenzi.

[5] *Hist. pontif.*, c. 32, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xx. p. 538.

[6] *Ann. Herbipol.*, 1139, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. [7] Falco, *l.c.*

[8] *Cf.* ep. Bernard. 183, to Conrad, consoling him for "the diminution of his kingdom," and urging him notwithstanding not to lose his reverence for the Apostolic See.

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CHAPTER III.

THE POPE AND THE CITIZENS OF ROME. THE NEW REPUBLIC. DEATH OF THE POPE.

WE have just seen that "the Roman people" received Pope Innocent with great joy and honour on his return from his war with King Roger. "From Peter," writes Ordericus Vitalis,[1] "to whom first the Lord Jesus Christ said: 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. xvi. 19), to Pope Innocent, who now governs the Apostolic See, we reckon one hundred and forty-one bishops of Rome," and during the reigns of every one of those Pontiffs much was always heard of the "Populus Romanus." But neither whilst the Popes were trembling fugitives in the catacombs, nor whilst they were the favoured of emperors and of kings; and neither whilst they were the sport of petty barons, nor whilst they were as a tower of strength which the mighty could not storm, were the Roman people of any real account. They were either snarling curs to whom the pagan emperors disdainfully flung bread and shows, or they were poor and helpless, subsisting on the charity of the Popes, or they were the unnumbered crowd to whom the Roman nobles were like Ajax and Achilles to the unnamed host of the Achæans. The Roman people.

But from the days of Gregory the Great, when Byzantine influence in Rome began to be more and more intangible, the Roman people were thrown more and more upon themselves. Before the middle of the seventh century a

[1] *H. E.*, i., *sub fin.*

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"Roman army" again makes its appearance. This time the "exercitus Romanus" is only a local militia, organised according to the different regions of the city, but largely under the control of the new nobility which papal patronage was bringing into existence. However, as time went on, the Roman people profited by the faction fights among the nobles, and by the struggles between Pope and antipope. Growing daily less dependent, they began in the eleventh century, long after the other cities, to form themselves into guilds,[1] and commenced to dream of imitating those cities of north Italy—Milan, Genoa, Pisa, etc.—which, setting at naught the overlordship of emperor, archbishop, or baron, had become practically independent.[2] Irrespective of any suzerain, some at least of them had already begun to elect their own magistrates, and to manage their own affairs. They made peace or war as they listed. The Romans would do likewise; and, inflated with idle dreamings, supposed they were really as powerful as they imagined themselves.

We have seen them grandly threaten not to elect Lothaire emperor unless he recognised their antipope Anacletus.[3] Now, regarding the concessions of Innocent to Roger as derogatory to the dignity of the Populus Romanus, they called upon him to act on their advice, and to repudiate the terms he had made with the Sicilian king. This he stoutly refused to do, saying that his

[1] "Le système corporatif, qui a fait la force de la démocratie dans la plupart des autres cités de l'Italie centrale, ne s'est développé que tardivement à Rome." Rodocanachi, *Les instit. communales à Rome*, p. 28.

[2] Speaking of the year 1117, and of Milan, Cremona, and other cities with their *consuls*, Butler (*The Lombard Communes*, p. 77) writes: "The cities are now in fact republics, fully independent except for the nominal obedience they owed the emperor."

[3] "Docuerunt (the Romans) linguam suam grandia loqui, cum operentur exigua." St. Bernard, *De Consid.*, iv. 2.

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captivity had been brought about providentially for the sake of peace.[1]

In the following spring (1140), when the troops of King Roger crossed the Pescara in the north-east of his dominions in order to bring to subjection certain rebellious nobles on the borders of the pontifical territories, the Romans again proffered their advice to the Pope. On this occasion Innocent followed it, and sent an embassy to warn the Normans not to interfere with the territories of the Romans.[2]

But it was the "Tivoli incident," which we shall now narrate, that furnished the occasion to the Romans finally to assert themselves.

The Romans attack Tivoli, 1142–3.

All over the north and central parts of Italy at this period neighbouring cities were at war with one another, incited thereto either by hatred or ambition. Angry that their power had so declined that even Tivoli could be an effective rival to their city, the Romans made an attempt to bring it to subjection on the ground of its continuance in schism. "With an immense army" Innocent laid siege to Tivoli (May 1142), but he was completely worsted, and very many of the Romans were captured or slain.[3] Thirsting for vengeance, the Romans returned to the attack in the

[1] "Populus Romanus . . eum (the Pope) hortabatur, ut pacem quam cum rege Rogerio posuerat, consilio eorum confringeret," etc. Falco, 1139.

[2] *Ib.*, 1140. While continuing to talk of fidelity to the Pope, Roger went on establishing by force of arms his claims to territories the lordship of which was doubtful, and he tried to compel the papal governor of Benevento, John the sub-deacon, to accept his debased coinage. This, however, John and the Pope refused to do, especially because the circulation of it meant "the ruin of all Italy," "præcipue cum ad totius Italiæ mortem monetarum illarum introductio spectaret." *Ib.* Unfortunately the useful chronicle of Falco closes with this notice. Peter's chronicle of Mt. Cassino ended with the year 1138.

[3] *Chron. Tiburtina* (1135), 1142, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxi.; Sicard., *Chron. Cremon.*, 1142, ap. *ib.*, p. 164 f.; Otto Fris., *Chron.*, vii. 27.

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following year. This time they were successful, and were desirous of inflicting a severe and humiliating punishment on their enemies.[1] They wanted to raze the walls of Tivoli, and drive away all its inhabitants. But "the most noble and broad-minded Pope," says Otto of Frising, "would not give his consent to a desire so senseless and so inhuman"; and, although he was personally ill-disposed towards the people of Tivoli on account of the schism, and had excommunicated them,[2] he concluded a treaty with them on his own account. They swore to be true to him and his successors, to leave the control of their city in his hands, and to help him to recover the papal possessions in their neighbourhood.[3]

They proclaim a republic, 1143.

This served as a pretext for the Romans to imitate what had been done in other cities. "Desirous of renewing the ancient dignity of the city," they rushed to the Capitol and proclaimed a republic, *i.e.*, in the words of Bishop Otto, "they reinstituted the senatorial order, which had for many ages been extinct."[4]

Death of the Pope, 1143.

It was to no purpose that Innocent tried all means to suppress this outbreak against his authority. His exer-

[1] *Ib.* It would seem that the following entry in the *Chron. Tib.*, which its editor doubtfully refers to the year 1145, should be referred to the year 1142, and has reference to a victory of the Romans before the decisive one. "Hic Tiburtini et Guido cardinalis (bishop of Tivoli) cum capitaneis fugati sunt a Romanis," etc. This conjecture and the dates given in the text are supported by Fedele in his article "L' êra del Senato" in the *Archivio Rom. di storia pat.*, vol. xxxv. (1912), p. 583 ff.

[2] "Innocentius . . . per multum temporis Tyburtinos excommunicaverat." Otto, *ib.*

[3] See their oath, ap. Fabre, *Liber Cens.*, i. 415. The "donnicaturæ (domains) et regalia quæ Romani PP. ibidem habuerunt" were to be safeguarded.

[4] *L.c.* *Cf.* Boso, "Populus Romanus, novitatis amator, sub velamento utilitatis reipublice, contra ipsius (Innocent) voluntatem in Capitolium senatum erexit."

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Details from the Apse of Sta. Maria in Trastevere.
(From the Bollandists.)

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tions only ruined his health. He took to his bed, and died September 24, 1143.[1] In the presence of a very numerous concourse of clergy and people, he was buried in the Lateran basilica near the end of the southern nave, his body being laid in the splendid sarcophagus which had once held the remains of the Emperor Hadrian.[2] In the days of Clement V. a fire ruined the monument, and the bones of Innocent were removed to S. Maria in Trastevere.[3] There may still be seen in the portico of this church the inscription which was engraved on Innocent's second tomb. It sets forth that here rest the venerable bones of Innocent II. of most pious memory. A member of the family of the Papareschi, he restored this church at his own expense in 1140.

"† Hic requiescunt venerabilia ossa
Scissimæ memoriæ
Dn̄i Innocentii Papæ II.
De domo Paparescorum
Qui præsentem ecclesiam
Ad honorem Dei Genitricis
Mariæ sicut est a fundamentis
Sumptibus propriis renovavit
A.D. MCXL et completa est
A.D. MCXLVIII."[4]

What men thought of Innocent.

When it was known that "the limitations of human nature" had taken Pope Innocent from among men, it was loudly proclaimed "that his victories had given

[1] Otto, *l.c.* *Cf.* ep. 2 Celest. II.

[2] John the Deacon, *De eccles. Lat.*, c. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 98.

[3] In 1657 the Chapter of Sta. Maria in Trastevere set up an inscription setting forth that the remains of Innocent were transferred to their church and placed under a plain slab bearing the above inscription. The canons of the said chapter also restored his monument. *Cf. Inscriptiones Romanæ*, p. xxxvii, n. 47, ed. Galletti, Rome, 1760.

[4] We give this inscription from Marucchi, *Basiliques de Rome*, p. 435, as it is there printed in a more intelligible form than that given ap. *L. P.*, ii. 385.

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freedom to the Church, which had been adorned and ennobled by his virtues and magnificence, and that he had rendered it affable to the lowly, but formidable to tyrants, instilling as much fear into vice as charity into religion."[1] Only the wicked, it was said, rejoiced in his death, as they hoped that they would be able to profit by it.

Innocent's feelings towards the new republic.

Innocent no doubt resented the rising of the Romans all the more keenly because he had brought prosperity to Rome. To the years of misery under Anacletus[2] had succeeded years of plenty under Innocent. He had also endeavoured to improve the administration of justice. He fixed the salary of judges and advocates at one hundred pounds a year, and made them swear to judge just judgment according to the laws, and not to take bribes.[3]

The republic is established, 1145.

The stout efforts made by Innocent against the republican movement of 1143 were continued to no purpose by his two successors for two years. At length in December 1145 Eugenius III. definitely recognised the Senate, though, as we shall see, he insisted that it should receive investiture from him, and "he subordinated its authority to his own. . . . The numerous agreements between Pope and people which were subsequently entered into were merely reiterations of that of 1145," *i.e.*, of that year which seems to

[1] So wrote the courtly prelate Arnulf of Lisieux to Pope Celestine II. Ep. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201. He adds that Innocent greatly favoured the regular canons and monks: "et deserta quæque plus hodie monachorum quam ferarum quondam habuerunt bestiarum."

[2] There had been a grievous famine in Rome in 1130, when a *sextarium* (pint) of wheat sold for five solidi of money of Pavia.

[3] Boso, who gives the text of the oath. Over a hundred years later we find 150 pounds a year a common salary for Roman judges. *Cf.* the curious account-book of Nicholas III. (1279). "De' dare libre cinquanta . . . pagai a messer Gualterono . . . guidice . . .; i quali denari fuorono per suo salario . . . per quatro mesi." Palmieri, *Introiti ed esiti di Niccolò III.*, p. 88. *Cf.* p. 89 for payment to "messer Bon Giovani" (Roma, 1889).

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have been regarded as the year *one* of the renewal of the Senate.[1] It should, however, be noted that neither the Trastevere nor the island of the Tiber was included in the new commune.[2]

The Capitol to which the Romans betook themselves in such excitement in the memorable year 1143 was little else than a heap of ruins. It presented nothing to the eye by which an image of its past glories could be brought before the mind. But the Roman imagination of this age, which began with wild dreamings to look forward to the time when the ancient power of the city should burst forth again, and when the Capitol should be once more the centre of the world, began also to construct a mythical past for their visionary world-centre. It was about this time too that they began to commit the vagaries of their imaginations to writing, and in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ* and afterwards in the *Graphia aureæ urbis Romæ* told of the time when the Capitoline hill was covered with temples and palaces all of gold and precious stones, in which magic statues representing the provinces of the Roman world showed by their movements wherever there was rebellion.[3] But in the year 1143, amid the poor "houses, the crypts, cells, courts, gardens, trees, . . . walls, stones, and columns,"[4] with which the Capitol was then covered, where did the

The Capitol.

[1] Halphen, *L'administrat. de Rome*, p. 55. The first year of the renewed Senate appears to have been reckoned from a date between Oct. 6 and Oct. 23, 1144.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 58–60.

[3] *Cf. Mirabilia*, p. 86 ff., Eng. trans.; Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 468.

[4] Such is the description of the Capitol given in a bull of Anacletus II., in which he grants the whole hill to John the Benedictine, "abbot of the Capitol." *Cf.* Jaffé, 8425, and Urlichs, *Codex U. Romæ*, p. 147, or the beautifully illustrated quarto of Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole Romain*, p. 10 (Paris, 1904), for the full text of the antipope's bull. For subsequent history of the grant, see Potthast, *Regesta*, 14,002, for a bull of Innocent IV.

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Romans assemble? Perhaps it was in the fortress into which the Corsi had converted the indestructible classical "Record Office," *i.e.*, the ancient Tabularium; or perhaps in the little monastery of Our Lady and St. John the Baptist, attached to the Church of S. Maria *in Capitolio* or *in Ara Cœli*.[1] Wherever they met, the place does not appear to have been particularly suitable, for the demagogue Arnold of Brescia was soon to be heard urging them to rebuild the Capitol.[2] It would appear that his advice was so far followed that "a palace of the senators" was erected on the Capitol. Already in 1150 the Senate date their acts from a new building there, and a rude plan of the thirteenth century shows a castellated building protected by a tower as the new senatorial palace.[3] Like the fortress of the Corsi, which it enlarged if it did not altogether replace, this palace was erected on that part of the Tabularium which abutted on the Via Capitolina.[4]

From their abode on the Capitol the new Senate issued its orders, and the temporal power of the Pope in the city of Rome was for the time in complete abeyance.

[1] According to Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 48), at this period "the senators, or municipal magistrates, used to sit and administer justice in S. Martina and S. Adriano, *i.e.*, in the classical Roman Curia."

[2] "Quare reedificandum Capitolium, renovandam senatoriam dignitatem, reformandum equestrem ordinem docuit." Otto Fris., *Gest. Frid.*, ii. 28.

[3] "In Capitolio, in consistorio novo palatii." *Ann. Pisani*, an. 1151, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. 242. The *Annales P.*, as published by Muratori, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi., are unsatisfactory. *Cf.* Rodocanachi, *l.c.*, p. 11.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 18.

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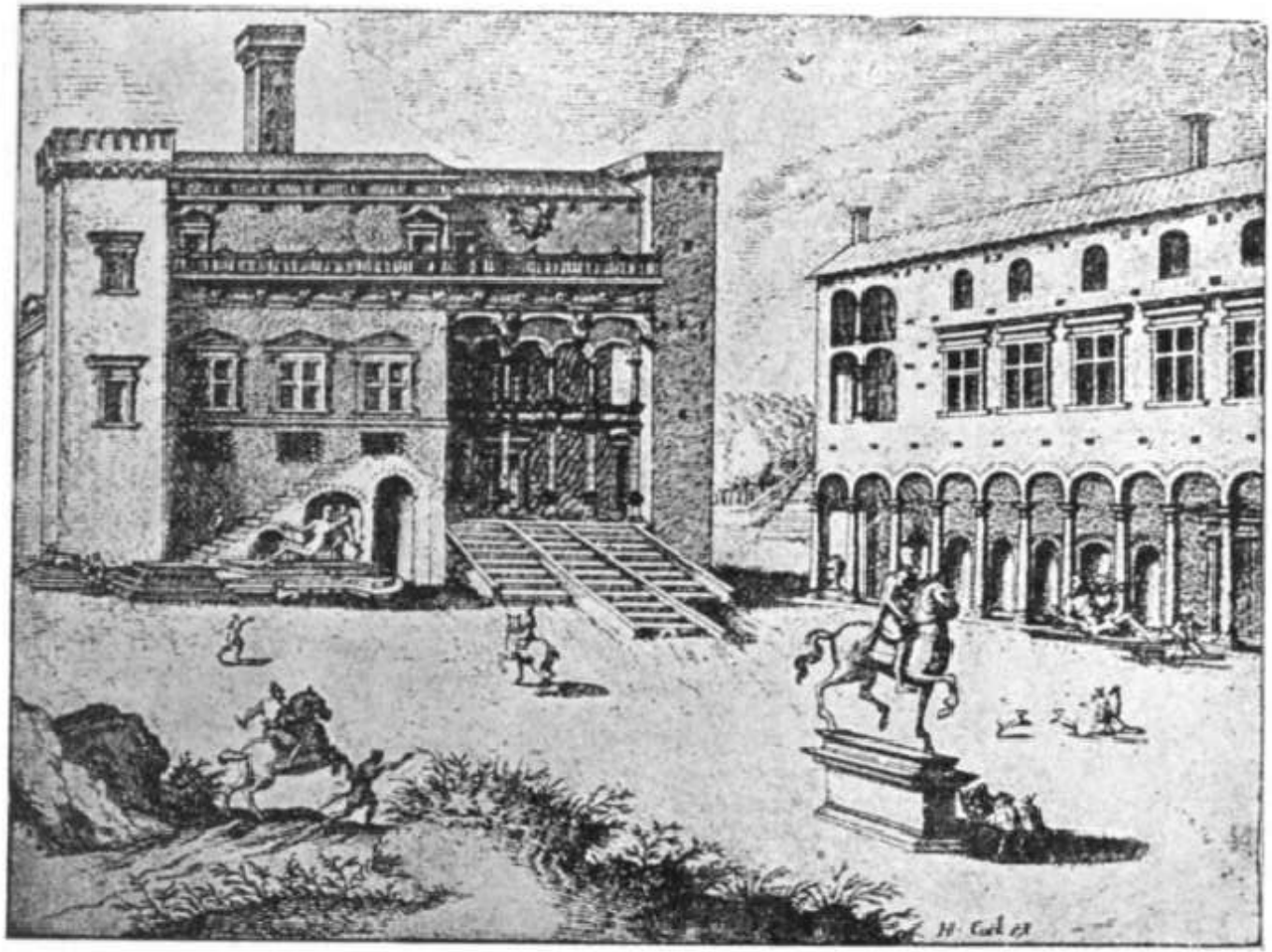

The Capitol, after a drawing by Kock.
(From *Le Château Saint-Ange*, by E. Rodocanachi.)

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CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND, IRELAND.

DURING his troubled pontificate Innocent was often called upon to intervene both in the political and in the religious life of England. Towards our King Henry, who had acknowledged him as Pope in the early days of the schism, he showed himself very well disposed. He told him of his sincere regard for him, and that he was prepared to do for him whatever the law of God would permit. Hence, although he exhorted him to root out of England and Normandy what was evil, and to plant therein what was good,[1] he did not hesitate, "for love of him," to insist that the archbishop of Rouen should not exact homage (*professionem et obedientiam*) from certain abbots. This he did, though, as he acknowledges to the archbishop, he had himself ordered the opposite. However, while he urged the archbishop to relax for a time the strict claims of justice,[2] he reminded the king that he must see to it that the abbots are not left without proper superintendence. Innocent and King Henry.

To the great abbey of Cluny Henry had in May 1131 given an annual donation of 100 marks, of which 60 were to come from the customs of London, and 40 from those

[1] Ep. 110, July 1132.

[2] Ep. 111. To gain his end in this matter, Henry, though he declared to Innocent that "he was and always had been ready to obey God, the Holy Roman Church, and your authority," did not hesitate to threaten to break away from his "obedience." *Cf.* his letter to the Pope (1131, c. fin.), ap. Bouquet, *R. G. SS.*, xv. 377. On this archbishop, Hugh III. of Amiens, see Hébert, ap. *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, Oct. 1898, p. 325 ff.

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of Lincoln. This donation Innocent solemnly confirmed "by the patronage of the Apostolic See,"[1] as he did also another which he made to William of Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury.[2] Further, "in accordance with the wishes of our aforesaid son King Henry," he authorised the establishment of canons regular in the church of St. Martin in Dover.[2]

A Bible for the Pope.

Passing over the privileges which Innocent granted to Christchurch (London), Lichfield, Lincoln,[3] and Canterbury, we will merely note in connection with the last-named one that the Pope commissioned the abbot to have written out for his use a Bible both convenient in size and copied in such a style as to make it worthy of the Roman Pontiff.[4]

Request for the canonisation of Edward the Confessor.

Writing, perhaps about the same time, to the monks of Westminster Abbey, he informs them that he has instructed his legate, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, to remedy their grievances; and he tells them that the Roman curia would have canonised Edward the Confessor if their envoy had brought to Rome a sufficient amount of evidence from the bishops and abbots of the country.[5]

The request for the Confessor's canonisation had been made by his grand-nephew Stephen, whom we shall presently see recognised by Innocent as king of England. Writing to the Pope, Stephen declared that the piety of our kings had been the cause of the advance of the Church of the English in the Christian faith, so that

[1] "Donationem . . . sexaginta (marks) videlicet in telonio Londiniensi, et quadraginta in telonio Lincolniensi, apostolicæ sedis patrocinio roboramus." Ep. 47, May 20, 1131.

[2] Ep. 199.

[3] Epp. 272, 391, and 404. *Cf.* Jaffé for other privileges; 7525 (Hereford), 7834 (Glastonbury), 7999 (Evesham), 8025-7, 8026 (Ely), 8150 (Fountains), 8233 (Malmesbury).

[4] Ep. 461, "Mandamus etiam vobis (the abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury) ut bibliam manualem parvi voluminis qualem Romanum pontificem deceat ad opus nostrum fieri faciatis."

[5] Ep. 502; *cf.* 501. *Cf. supra*, vol. iv. 385 f.

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"very specially distinguished in this matter among all the other kingdoms, it paid an annual tribute to the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by the mercy of God was specially cherished by the Roman Pontiffs."[1] He then treated of the miracles wrought by the Confessor, and of his relationship to him, and added, "Wherefore, O glorious Father and Lord, I humbly and submissively entreat your Majesty, to order by your authority that *the birthday* of the holy King be solemnly celebrated in the churches of the English."[2] After speaking of Westminster Abbey, which the Confessor had refounded, as "his royal seat, and as the special daughter of the Roman Church," and after saying that he had sent the abbot and prior (Osbert) of Westminster to negotiate the affair, he begged "the Prince of God and firm pillar of the Church" to grant his petition, so that his name might be ever glorious "in the kingdom of the English."

Stephen acknowledged king by Innocent, 1136.

On the death of Henry I. at Rouen (December 1, 1135),[3] his daughter, the Empress Matilda, to whom the nobles of England had sworn fealty, was set aside by the prompt action of Stephen of Blois, his nephew, and grandson of William the Conqueror. It was given out that Henry had disinherited her, and the archbishop of Canterbury was induced to crown the usurper (December 26, 1135).

[1] Ep. of Stephen, ap. epp. Osberti de Clara, ed. Anstruther, p. 120 ff., Brussels and London, 1846. "Multum profecit Anglorum ecclesia in religione Christiana, ut bb. App. Petro et Paulo omnibus regnis specialius annua tributa persolveret, hoc adjecit Omnipotens Deus ut Romanorum Pontificum grata benedictio eandem gentem familiarius confoveret."

[2] "Vestram majestatem, gloriose pater et Domine, humiliter et suppliciter submissa petitione convenio, ut vestra instauret auctoritas diem S. Regis natalitium celebrari solemniter in Anglorum ecclesias." *Ib.*

[3] Innocent had received a full account from the archbishop of Rouen of the Christian death of Henry: "He devoutly adored the cross of our Lord, and received His Body and Blood" . . . together with Extreme Unction. *Cf.* the letter of Hugh to the Pope, ap. Will. of Malmes., *Hist. Nov.*, l. i.

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Appeal was at once made to Innocent to sanction the position of Stephen. He was told by the bishops, by the king of France, and by others that he had been chosen king by the united voice of nobles and people, and had been duly consecrated by the primates of the kingdom. Influenced by these statements, and by what he was told of the anarchy that followed the demise of Henry, Innocent expressed his approval of what had been done in these guarded words addressed to King Stephen: "Knowing that in your person the divine favour accords with the choice of men so worthy, and knowing also that for the recompense of a sure hope on the day of your consecration you vowed obedience and reverence to St. Peter; and since you are known to be descended almost in a direct line from the royal lineage of the aforesaid kingdom, we, satisfied with what has been done in your case, receive you with fatherly affection as a favoured son of St. Peter and of the holy Roman Church, and heartily desire to retain you in the same privilege of regard and intimacy by which your predecessor of illustrious memory was by us distinguished."[1]

On receipt of this letter, Stephen assembled the bishops and nobles of England at Oxford; and in proclaiming his intention of granting liberty to the Church, of observing the laws, and of giving up the forests of Henry I., he asserted that, by the grace of God, he had been chosen king of England "by the consent of the clergy and people, had been consecrated by William, Archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the holy Roman Church, and had been confirmed by Innocent, pontiff of the holy Roman See."[2]

A papal legate in England, 1138.

The miseries which the Norman occupation of England

[1] Ep. 250, or ap. Richard of Hexham, *Hist. de gest. Steph.*, an. 1136. The translation of the "Ch. Historians of England" series is here used. *Cf.* John of Hexham, *Hist.*, an. 1136.

[2] Richard, *l.c.* *Cf.* Will. of Malmesbury, *l.c.* *Cf.* Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 119 ff., ed. Oxford, 1876.

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brought upon the people were rapidly aggravated under the reign of Stephen, helped as they were, on the one hand, by the weakness and incompetence of the king, and on the other by the efforts of Matilda and her allies to recover her inheritance. At length (1138), with a view to making peace between England and Scotland, and to effecting some reformation of manners, there landed in England Alberic, bishop of Ostia, legate of the Apostolic See. Our chroniclers all speak with the greatest respect of the learning and piety of this former monk of Cluny, and tell us that, as he brought letters from the Pope, "warranting his mission," to the kings and prelates of England and Scotland, "he was received by all with respect."[1] Besides presenting a letter "to all the children of the Catholic Church as to the condition of the holy mother Church of Rome,"[2] he laid before the king and nobles his credentials from the Apostolic See. With the usual unwillingness of the Norman kings to allow any kind of control of their doings, and not because, as Gervase[3] says, he was unwilling to see his brother even temporarily deprived of his legatine authority, Stephen did not receive the legate's commission too enthusiastically. At length, however, "reverence for the apostolic authority"[4] had its way, and Alberic at once began his work of inspection.

Alberic and Scotland, 1138.

One of the objects which the legate had at heart was to make peace between the English and Scotch, and, in making his way north, he "made the circuit of nearly the

[1] Ric. of Hex., *ib.*, an. 1138. Prior Osbert welcomes him for his noble birth and for the authority of his legation. Ep. 2, ed. Anstruther.

[2] R. of H., *ib.*

[3] John of Worcester, *Chron.*, an. 1138. Henry, bishop of Winchester, did not become papal legate till 1139. See *infra*, p. 78 f.

[4] John of Worcester, *Chron.*, 1138, p. 49, ed. Weaver. "Lectis coram rege et primoribus Angliæ litteris ab apostolica sede directis, licet non in primis, pro reverentia tamen apostolicæ auctoritatis, demum suscipitur."

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whole of England, visiting the cathedral churches and the monasteries." His interview with David, king of Scotland, at Carlisle, was eminently satisfactory (September). David not only renounced the schism, and acknowledged Innocent, but consented to a truce. He had invaded England in the interests of Matilda, and, though checked by the battle of the Standard, his troops were still overrunning the north of England in the most barbarous fashion. The legate induced him to promise to slay none but actual combatants, and to release the women he had taken prisoners.[1]

The council of London.

Returned to England, Alberic, in conjunction with "another legate who had just arrived from the sovereign Pope Innocent," summoned the bishops of England to meet in London (December 6). By "apostolic authority" a number of canons were passed condemning investiture, simony, clerical incontinence, and the letting by schoolmasters of the teaching of their schools for hire. The council also decided that Theobald, abbot of Bec, should be the new archbishop of Canterbury. He was accordingly consecrated by Alberic (January 8, 1139). Before he left the country, the legate still further advanced the cause of peace with Scotland.[2]

Henry, bishop of Winchester, legate of the Holy See, 1139.

According to Ordericus,[3] Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, had been elected to succeed William of Corbeil (†1136) as archbishop of Canterbury. But, "as according to the canons, a bishop cannot be preferred from his own see to another without the authority of the Roman pontiff," Henry endeavoured to prevail upon the Pope to

[1] Ric. of Hex., *l.c.* *Cf.* John of Hex., an. 1138. One reason why the Hexham historians are so well informed on these matters is that Alberic visited their monastery.

[2] Still Ric. of Hex. *Cf.* Huntingdon. l. vii., an. 1138. *Cf.* John of Hex., ann. 1138–9. In some cases the council reserved the absolution of those who violated their decrees "to the Roman Pontiff alone."

[3] Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, xiii. 28.

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sanction his translation.[1] Though he failed to secure this favour, he obtained from Innocent a bull in which the Pope "enjoined the administration of his anxious charge to the lord bishop of Winchester, as legate in England" (March 1, 1139).[2]

According to Gervase of Canterbury, the new legate "exercised his legatine rights, although they were his rights, beyond discretion."[3] Henry took his dignity very seriously, received appeals, constantly cited his archbishop and the bishops of England to attend on him,[4] and "by apostolic authority" took to task those who did not pay their Peter's pence in proper time.[5] Naturally enough, friction soon arose between the legate "who wished to seem greater than the archbishop, and the archbishop who wished to appear of more importance than the legate."[6] Henry, therefore, betook himself to Rome at some period during the pontificate of Innocent, and endeavoured to induce him to erect Winchester into an archiepiscopal see.[7] This

[1] *Ib.*

[2] William of Malms., *Hist. Nov.*, l. ii., an. 1139. The bull itself does not appear to be extant. *Cf.* John of Hex., *l.c.*

[3] *Act. pont. Cant.*, ed. Twysden, p. 1665. "Hic cum de jure legati licet privilegium suum plusquam deceret extenderet in immensum," etc. *Cf.* ep. Inn., 549, for an interesting case between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury, which was submitted for decision to his legate Henry by Pope Innocent. The monks contended that an annual tax which they had been wont to pay the archbishop was for the holy oils, and that the legate Alberic had decreed that "pro chrismate et oleo et aliis ecclesiasticis sacramentis pretium non daretur."

[4] *Ib.* *Cf.* ep. 3 of Prior Osbert, ed. Anstruther.

[5] "Henricus Dei gratia Wintonensis Episcopus et apostolicæ sedis Legatus Priori et Conventui S. Mariæ Wigornensis ecclesiæ salutem. Miramur multum quod denarium S. Petri de Ecclesia . . . nondum reddistis, cum ab omnibus episcopis secundum condictum eis terminum jam eum receperimus. Unde mandamus vobis et apostolica auctoritate præcipimus," etc. Ep. Henrici, ap. Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English Hist.*, i. p. 22, 3rd series.

[6] *Annal. Winton.*, 1143, R. S.

[7] *Ib.*

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boon, however, he failed to obtain, though he is credited with having received the pallium from Pope Lucius II. in 1142.[1]

Matilda's appeal to Rome, 1139.

In the beginning of the month following the legatine appointment of Henry, was held the great council of Lateran. Before this assembly was brought an appeal by the outraged Empress Matilda against Stephen. Her claim to the throne of England was advanced by Ulger, bishop of Angers.[2] He was opposed on Stephen's behalf[3]

[1] Ralph de Diceto (†*c.* 1202), *Abbrev. Chron.*, 1142, ed. *R. S.*, i. 255. Though neither Ralph nor the Annals are contemporary authorities, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of their statements. On the career of the legate, *cf.* Cassan, *The Lives of the Bishops of Winchester*, i. 147 ff., London, 1827. The writer of the life of Henry of Winchester, in the *Dict. of National Biography*, xxvi. 115, remarks that it is said of him by certain modern writers that he introduced into England the custom of appeals to Rome; "but the passage on which this statement is founded seems to refer to appeals to himself as legate" (Henry of Huntingdon, p. 282). The writer proceeds to quote Stubbs (*Constitutional Hist.*, iii. 349) to prove that appeals to Rome from this country were made in earlier times. The foregoing pages of this work have also abundantly established the truth of the writer's contention.

[2] The principal source for this appeal is c. 41 of the *Historia Pontificalis* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xx. pp. 543–4), now very generally acknowledged to be the work of John of Salisbury. It is a production much superior to the other historical works of his age, both in literary and in historical style, and is well worthy of the "ripest product" of the school of Chartres. *Cf. infra*, p. 123. The first to explain correctly the details of this appeal was Mr. Round (*Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 8 and p. 250 ff., London, 1892); but even he has assigned a wrong date to it. The date should be 1139 and not 1136. The appeal was heard in *Rome*, but Innocent was at Pisa all the year 1136. The *magnus ille conventus* of Foliot was, of course, the Lateran council at which as a monk of Cluny (*Cluniacensium minimus*) he was present. Innocent is said "convocasse *Ecclesiam*, et *Romæ* conventum celebrem habuisse." See ep. 79 of Gilbert Foliot, ed. Giles, i. 100, or *P. L.*, t. 190, p. 796 ff. It is addressed to Brian Fitz-Count. The letter of Innocent (ep. 250, *supra*, p. 76) makes no mention of Matilda's appeal or arguments. It was written before the appeal, and not after it.

[3] Stephen's right to the crown was being constantly called in question. "Regi enim *sepe* questio mota fuerat super usurpatione regni, quod contra sacramentum Henrico regi prestitum dinoscitur occupasse." *Hist. Pontif.*

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by Roger, bishop of Chester; Lovel, a cleric, representing the archbishop of Canterbury; and Arnulf, archdeacon of Séez, afterwards bishop of Lisieux, whom we have had occasion to mention already,[1] and of whom, seemingly without exaggeration, it may be averred that for over forty years "there was hardly a diplomatic transaction of any kind, ecclesiastical or secular, in England or in Gaul, in which he was not at some moment or in some way or other connected."[2] He was Stephen's chief advocate. The contention of Matilda was the same as that addressed to Alexander II. by William the Conqueror. She claimed the crown of England because she was the daughter of Henry, and because the succession had been secured to her by the oaths of fidelity to her which had been taken by the clergy and nobility of the country. To these arguments Arnulf replied that the Empress Matilda was unworthy to succeed to the crown because she was illegitimate, that the oaths had been extracted by force, and that she had, moreover, been disinherited by Henry on his death-bed in Stephen's favour. No match for Arnulf in diplomatic tact, Ulger lost his temper at these allegations, and spoilt a good cause by his want of self-control.[3] He upbraided Arnulf with his low birth, and, wholly unmindful of the presence of the Pope, denounced him and all his people as unprincipled liars. He denied that Matilda was illegitimate, and declared that to call her so was to insult the Roman Church, seeing that Paschal II. had crowned her empress. Annoyed at the intemperate tone of the discussion, Innocent cut it short, and by letter to Stephen reaffirmed his previous

[1] P. 71, n.

[2] Miss Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i. p. 500.

[3] "In archidiaconum excandescens," he reminded Arnulf that Henry "te et totum genus tuum erexit de stercore. . . . Totum genus tuum loquax est et sublimari meruit vite maculis, et arte, et audatia mentiendi." *Hist. Pont.*

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recognition of his position. Some said that Innocent had been gained by Stephen's money, and Ulger, enraged at his want of success, bitingly muttered that St. Peter had gone from home, and left his house in charge of money-changers.[1]

Subsequent action of the Popes regarding Matilda's claims.

The action of the Pope, who was no doubt influenced, as he had been before, by the difficulties and dangers which would attend any attempt to interfere with Stephen's actual possession of the crown, was strongly opposed by Guido, cardinal-priest of St. Mark's. When he became Pope Celestine II., though he would not alter Innocent's decision in Stephen's behalf, still, as he held that the affair was still *sub judice*, was still *res litigiosa*, he would not countenance any effort made to fix the throne in Stephen's line. His attitude was adopted by his successors Lucius II. and Eugenius III.[2] Hence when, in 1152, Stephen made a determined effort to force the bishops of England to crown Eustace, Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury, refused to do so on the ground that he had been forbidden by the Pope to recognise as king the son of the man who usurped the kingdom against his oath.[3]

Terrible misery in England; Stephen loses his kingdom; Matilda queen.

Among all the kings of England it may be said with the greatest truth of Stephen that he would have been accounted most worthy to rule the land if he had never been called upon to rule it. Under the shadow of his careless and

[1] "Receptis muneribus regis Stephani, ei familiaribus litteris regnum Angliæ confirmavit et ducatum Normannie. Ulgerius . . . adiciebat: Petrus enim peregre profectus est, nummulariis relicta domo." *Hist. Pont.* On this appeal see also Foliot's letter, *l.c.*

[2] *Hist. Pont.*, Pope Celestine "scripsit d. Theobaldo . . . inhibens, ne qua fieret innovatio in regno Angliæ circa coronam, quia res erat litigiosa."

[3] "D. Papa (Eugenius III.) litteris suis Cantuariensi prohibuerat archiepiscopo, ne filium regis qui contra jusjurandum regnum usurpasse videbatur, in regem sublimaret." Gervase, *Chron.*, an. 1152, ed. Twysden, p. 1371. *Cf. infra*, p. 200.

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incompetent weakness, the country was already being gradually flooded with misery, when he removed the last obstacle to its spread by quarrelling with the bishops. They had been his chief support, for they loyally stood by the Pope's recognition of him, declaring that it was not right for any bishop to desert one whom the Roman Church had acknowledged as king.[1] But Stephen filled up the measure of his folly by treating them in such a manner as to bring upon himself the wrath of his brother, Henry, bishop of Winchester. This legate of Pope Innocent was a commanding personality, much more fitted to rule England than Stephen. Holding in his hands the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the country, and no small share of its civil power, he was called by his contemporaries "the lord of England." But a terrible sight met his gaze when in 1139 he looked o'er the land of which he was proclaimed the lord. "The treasury, left well filled, was empty; the kingdom was a prey to intestine war; slaughter, fire, and rapine spread ruin throughout the land; cries of distress, horror, and woe rose in every quarter. . . . Churches, monks, and nuns were violated, and famine consumed those whom murder had spared." It was thought that "hell had broken loose, and that the reign of chaos had begun."[2] "Every powerful man," sighs our national chronicle, "made his castles, and they filled the land full of castles, and the castles they filled with devils and evil men. Christ and His saints slept."[3]

Matters were brought to a head between Henry and

[1] Stephen "quem tota Anglicana ecclesia sequebatur ex constitutione ecclesie Romane. Licet proceres *divisi* diversos principes sequerentur *unum* tamen habebat ecclesia. Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury, proclaimed "quod episcopo non licuerat ecclesiam scindere ei subtrahendo fidelitatem quem ecclesia Romana recipiebat ut principem." *Hist. Pontif.*, c. 19.

[2] Huntingdon, an. 1140.

[3] *A.-Sax. Chron.*, an. 1137.

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Stephen by the latter's arbitrary imprisonment of the bishops of Salisbury and Ely. The legate called upon the king to answer for his conduct at a council which he called together at Winchester (August 29, 1139). Though Stephen appeared at the council, he would offer no satisfaction, and when some of the bishops talked of appealing to Rome against him, he let them know that if any of them left the country "in opposition to him and to the dignity of his kingdom, his return might not be so easy. Moreover, as he felt himself aggrieved by the bishops, he, of his own accord, summoned them to Rome."[1] Afraid of violence on the part of Stephen, and because, says Malmesbury, the bishops thought it would be "a rash act to excommunicate the king without the knowledge of the Pope," they dispersed without taking any severe measures against him. But the legate and the archbishop of Canterbury begged him privately on their knees to take pity on the Church, and not to cause a schism between it and himself. Nothing, however, of any particular value was effected by their efforts.[2]

About a month after the holding of this council, Matilda landed on the shores of England to enforce her claim to its crown with an army. The infatuated Stephen continued to anger his brother. He could not defeat his foe, and would not agree to the terms of peace which Henry endeavoured to make with her. In February 1141 Stephen was captured by the forces of Matilda, who was then joined by the legate.[3] But her arrogance soon alienated him as it alienated so many others.

[1] Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.*, l. ii., an. 1139. There does not appear to be any evidence that Stephen ever prosecuted this appeal to Rome.

[2] *Ib.*; *cf.* Huntingdon, an. 1139.

[3] "Obedience to the Apostolic see" for some time prevented Archbishop Theobald from joining Matilda, but he was at length persuaded by Henry to do so. *Hist. Pontif.*, c. 15.

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Before the end of the year Stephen was once more free (November 1). He was exchanged as a prisoner of war for Matilda's natural brother Robert, earl of Gloucester, her chief support, who had been captured by the king's party on September 14. After much negotiation it had been arranged that, "for the royal dignity," Stephen should be set at liberty a little before the earl. Before Robert would agree to this risky arrangement he insisted not only that the legate and the archbishop should promise on oath to put themselves in his power if the king did not fulfil his side of the contract, but that both of them should furnish him with letters to the Pope under their own seals to the following effect: "The lord Pope was to understand that they, for the liberation of the king and the peace of the kingdom, had bound themselves to the earl by this covenant, that, if the king refused to liberate him after his own release, they would give themselves into his custody. Should it, therefore, come to this calamitous issue, they earnestly implored the Pope to do that which it would become his apostolic clemency to do without being asked, viz., free both the count and themselves, who were his suffragans, from unjust bonds."[1]

Stephen is exchanged for Robert, earl of Gloucester, Nov. 1, 1141.

These precautions were followed by the release of Robert as arranged. Thereupon, in order to strengthen his brother's position, Henry of Winchester "by his legatine authority summoned a council to meet at Westminster" on December 7. The proceedings appear to have been opened by the reading of a letter from Innocent to Henry which had been received some time before. In it the Pope gently rebuked the legate for not endeavouring to release

Council at Westminster, 1141.

[1] Malmesbury, *H. Nov.*, l. iii., § 63. They asked "ut eos qui suffraganei ipsius erant, et comitem pariter, ab indebitis nexibus exueret." It will be noticed that this statement of the relationship of the English hierarchy to the Pope is made by its two principal members.

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his brother; but, forgiving him his former transgression, earnestly exhorted him to attempt his liberation either by ecclesiastical or temporal means. Then, after endeavouring to excuse his own defection from the king, Henry commanded all "on the part of God and of the Pope, that they should strenuously assist the king, anointed by the will of the people and with the approbation of the Holy See."[1] The council closed with the excommunication of Matilda's party, but not of Matilda herself, because she was "the lady (*domina*) of the Angevins." But this assembly effected little in the way of bringing peace to the distracted country, which, long after the decease of Innocent, who had laboured so hard for its pacification, was in such a state of misery that, says Malmesbury, "not even the bishops nor monks could pass in safety from one town to another."[2]

The new bishopric of Carlisle.

The difficulty experienced by bishops, or by any persons, in going in safety from one place to another in the twelfth century was so far at least increased in England in the reign of King Stephen that there was one more bishop in his time than there had been for long before. When King Henry I. beheld John, bishop of Glasgow, who neither acknowledged his overlordship nor would obey his ecclesiastical superior, Thurstan of York,[3] exercising episcopal functions in Cumberland, he was very wroth. To put an end to a state of things which limited his

[1] Malmesbury, *ib.*, § 52. He ordered "de parte Dei et apostolici, ut regem, voluntate populi et assensu sedis apostolicæ inunctum, quantis possent viribus enixe juvarent."

[2] *Hist. Nov.*, l. ii., an. 1140. "Thus the mischief spread on all sides," says Ordericus, *H. E.*, xiii. c. 43, "and England, which formerly overflowed with wealth, was now miserably desolated, and abandoned to rapine, fire, and slaughter." And here too, unfortunately, we are abandoned both by Ordericus himself and by Malmesbury, both excellent authorities.

[3] *Cf. supra*, vol. viii. p. 286 f.

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authority, Henry, at the instigation of Archbishop Thurstan, determined to erect Carlisle into an episcopal see subject to York. With this purpose he approached Pope Innocent. He, also, annoyed that John of Glasgow was so refractory to his repeated orders to submit to York, fell in with the king's proposals, and "by apostolic dispensation decreed that Carlisle should be honoured with the episcopal dignity, and should continue to enjoy the said honour for all future time." This we know from a letter addressed by Innocent to King Stephen, in which he exhorted that monarch to complete the arrangements necessary for the proper establishment of the new see, which death had prevented King Henry from finishing[1] (April 22, 1136). Disheartened by this dismembering of his see, John of Glasgow retired to the abbey of Tyron, and it required the authority of Rome to make him return to it.[2]

Innocent and Bishop Nigel.

More than enough has already been said to illustrate a remark made at the beginning of this chapter to the effect that Innocent was often called upon to intervene both in the political and in the religious life of England. But because one of the men of our country with whom Innocent had relations may be said to be still exercising an influence on the land, we will record yet another incident bearing on the same subject. One of the ablest prelates of England in the unhappy days of King Stephen was Nigel, bishop of Ely (†1169), nephew of Roger, bishop of Salisbury. He is said to have been "one of the greatest financiers of the middle ages," and to have been "the founder of the system

[1] "Serenitatem tuam (Stephen) nolumus ignorare nos jamdudum ex dispensatione apostolica statuisse, ut videlicet locus Karliolii de cetero Episcopalis dignitatis culmine decoretur, et perpetuis futuris temporibus ejusdem honoris prærogativa illustratus existat." Ep. Inn., ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt i. p. 30. *Cf.* Fordun (wrote *c.* 1385), *Scotichronicon*, viii. 3.

[2] Fordun, *ib.*, Richard of Hexham, *De gestis Stephani*, an. 1138.

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of keeping the public accounts of England. . . . After having had the glory of creating the English exchequer under Henry I., he lived to restore it under Henry II., after the troubles and waste of the reign of Stephen had thrown it into disorder."[1]

The violent action of Stephen in seizing Roger of Salisbury and other prelates (1139) drove Nigel into rebellion. Forced by the success of the king's arms to abandon his Isle of Ely, almost inaccessible on account of its surrounding marshes, he fled to the party of the empress, and appealed to Rome. One of the envoys whom he sent there was "a man skilled in the use of Latin, French, and English."[2] The mission was completely successful, and the envoys "received from the excellence of the Roman dignity" letters addressed to the bishops of England and the archbishop of Rouen instructing them to aid Nigel, "who had been unjustly expelled from his see," to recover it.[3] But it was not till he had been in exile for nearly two years that, "to the great joy of all,"[4] he returned to his see (1142).

[1] Note to Forester's English translation of Ordericus, iv. 185 f. Forester quotes the *Pipe Rolls* of the thirty-first year of Henry I., and adds that "there is little doubt that this valuable record was made under his direction."

[2] Richard of Ely, *Historia Eliensis*, ii. 621; ed. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, London, 1691. He wrote a continuation (1107–1169) of the history of Thomas of Ely.

[3] With Richard of Ely, *l.c.*, compare the Pope's letter, which may be read in the Cotton MS. Titus A. 1, f. 34, in the British Museum. *Cf.* Jaffé, 8101, and Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 411 f. As it is dated Oct. 5, trans Tiberim, it would appear that it belongs to the year 1140, and not to the year 1142, as Round supposes. On Nigel see the excellent article of Round in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and his note on him ap. *English Hist. Rev.*, 1893, viii. 515 ff.

[4] Richard, *l.c.*, "valde a cunctis optatus." Another series of letters of Innocent in behalf of Nigel, dated April 29, would appear to have reference to some local nobles who were interfering with the church

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IRELAND.

During this century we have abundant evidence of that intercourse between Ireland and Rome which with the flow of time has but become closer and closer. Whenever a special Irish centre in Rome was first established, there was certainly one there in the twelfth century, and the abbey, Sanctissima Trinitas Scottorum, figures in the Roman archæological productions of Peter Mallius[1] and John the Deacon.[2] According to Professor Marucchi, who unfortunately can give me no further information on the matter, this centre of Irish life in Rome stood where is now the English College, viz., but a very short distance from the Campo dei Fiori. At the end of the sixteenth century the abbey church was rebuilt, and dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Irish centre and kings in Rome.

To the "Most holy Trinity of the Irish" no doubt went some at least of the many Irish princes who went to Rome in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Sitric (1040), Flaherty O'Neill (1030), Donogh of Brien, king of Munster (1060), and his nephew Turlogh O'Brien, who ruled all Ireland about the year 1080.[3]

The invasions of the Danes, and the quarrels of the descendants of their conqueror, the great Brian Boru, reduced the moral condition of Ireland to its lowest ebb in the eleventh century. In the twelfth, however, the country began to recover a little, and the revived ecclesi-

State of Ireland in the twelfth century.

of Ely, and would appear to be correctly assigned by Jaffé to 1139. The disputed succession to the see of York which followed the death of the great and saintly Bishop Thurstan will be treated of in the biography of Eugenius III., as that Pope settled the affair. Innocent's intervention with regard to the sees of Glasgow and Llandaff has already been noted. *Cf. supra*, vol. viii. pp. 286 f., 289 ff.

[1] P. 1059, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, where extracts from Mallius are given.

[2] Ap. *ib.*, p. 1391.

[3] *Cf.* d'Alton, *History of Ireland*, p. 153.

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astical life which then became manifest[1] was partly a cause and partly a result of the improved state of affairs. The revival, inaugurated at home, was stimulated by Rome.

In 1106 Celsus was consecrated bishop of Armagh. He was the lineal descendant of a family which had by force kept possession of the most important see in Ireland for some two hundred years. But he was the last of this episcopal family, unique in the history of the Church, who ruled it. He was shocked at the abuse, and at the chaotic state of the Irish Church. Their lively imaginations have ever prevented the Irish people from steadily pursuing and systematically reducing to practice ideas of unity and uniformity. This trait in their character showed itself in the eleventh century in the great variety of liturgies and offices in use all over their country,[2] and in the fact that, while there were a great many bishops in the land, there was practically no episcopal organisation.[3]

The synods of Uisneach (1112) and Rath-Bresail (1118).

The synod of Uisneach (Usnagh, now Usney), at which Celsus presided, and that of Rath-Bresail, at which he assisted, began the work of evolving hierarchical order out of the existing episcopal chaos.[4] The number of bishoprics was ordered to be reduced, regular dioceses were mapped out, and the metropolitical authority of Cashel was revived, on the understanding that it was to be subject to that of

[1] Malone, *A Church History of Ireland*, p. 24 f. (Dublin, 1863), gives quite a long list of religious houses founded in the first half of the twelfth century.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 21 f. *Cf.* St. Bernard, *Vita Malachiæ*, c. 3.

[3] "Even in the latter half of the twelfth century, some sixty independent dioceses existed in Ireland." *Ib.*, p. 18.

[4] What that chaos was may be gathered from St. Bernard, *l.c.*, c. 10. "Nam (quod inauditum est ab ipso Christianitatis initio) sine ordine, sine ratione mutabantur et multiplicabantur episcopi pro libitu metropolitani, ita ut unus episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulæ pene ecclesiæ singulos haberent episcopos."

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Armagh. But the see of Dublin was still left in subjection to Canterbury.[1]

The first papal legate over all Ireland.

The man, however, to whom Ireland was most indebted at this time was Gillebert, or Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, who had been appointed legate by Pope Paschal II. and who, observes St. Bernard, "was said to have been the first legate of the Apostolic See for the whole of Ireland."[2] Both by word of mouth and by his writings did he labour at the work of reform. He exhorted the clergy to give up their various liturgies and to adopt the one Catholic liturgy of Rome;[3] and he instructed them on the normal hierarchical system of the Church. He set forth the relations of priests to their bishop, of the bishop to his archbishop, and of the archbishops themselves to patriarchs in the East, or primates in the West. "But because," he continued, "the patriarchs preside over apostolic sees, as over Jerusalem, or Antioch, or Alexandria, they ordain the archbishops, and are said in a sense (*quodammodo*) to be equal to the Roman (patriarch or pontiff). However, to Peter only was it said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church' (Matt. xvi. 18). Hence the Pope alone is over the universal Church; and he ordains and judges all, and is ordained by all, because it is by the consent of the whole Church that the Romans elect him, whom we see always clad in a scarlet mantle to show he is ever ready for martyrdom."[4]

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. p. 392; St. Bernard, *l.c.*, c. 15; Brennan, *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 225 ff.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 10; *cf.* c. 16. The distinction between Scotch and Irish, and Ireland and Scotland, as at present understood, was always observed by St. Bernard. *Cf. ib.*, cc. 4 and 6.

[3] See his *De Statu Ecclesiæ*, p. 995, ap. *P. L.*, t. 159, "Uni catholico et Romano cedant."

[4] *Ib.*, c. 1110, p. 1004. "Papa ergo solus universali præeminet Ecclesiæ, et ipse omnes ordinat et judicat; et ab omnibus ordinatur, quia ex consensu totius Ecclesiæ, Romani eum sublimant qui quotidie chlamide coccinea induitur ut semper martyris paratus probetur."

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St. Malachy.

The Gregorian spirit of reform with which Celsus and Gilbert were inspired they handed on to one who was better and greater than either of them, viz., to Malachy, bishop of Connor, one of Ireland's greatest saints.[1] Celsus when dying sent him his pastoral staff (1129);[2] and when, in turn, worn out with old age and toil, Gilbert told the Pope he could be his steward no longer, Innocent in person made Malachy his successor in the legatine office;[3] for about the year 1140 the saint, thinking that "without the authority of the Apostolic See" he could not properly perform his duties as archbishop, decided to go to Rome. He was the more moved to this that he wished to obtain for his see and for that of Cashel "the use of the pallium, which is the fullness of honour."[4] St. Bernard, from whom we have all these particulars, tells us how graciously he was received by Pope Innocent, who touchingly sympathised with him on the long and arduous journey he had undertaken. During the month which Malachy spent in Rome, Innocent carefully questioned him about the state of religion in Ireland, and finished by confirming its new hierarchical system.[5] But with regard to the palliums, the Pope promised to bestow them, if they were asked for by a general council of the nation. Then before the saint left Rome, the Pope placed upon his head his own mitre, and gave him the stole and maniple which he himself was wont to use at Mass, and dismissed him "encouraged with the apostolic benediction and authority."[6]

Before Malachy could assemble the council required by Pope Innocent, that pontiff "of happy memory," as St.

[1] Born about 1095, he became bishop of Connor in 1125.

[2] St. Bernard, *ib.*, c. 10.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 16.

[4] *Ib.*, c. 15.

[5] Innocent inquired "sæpe ac diligenter" about the Saint's "esse patriæ, mores gentis, statum ecclesiarum." *Ib.*, c. 16, n. 38.

[6] *Ib.*

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Bernard calls him, had died. But at length in 1148 Malachy summoned the synod of Holmpatrick, which not only drew up a petition for the palliums, but commissioned the saint himself to present it to the Pope.[1] Unfortunately for Ireland, the saint died at Clairvaux on his way to Rome.[2] But he had done much for his country's betterment; and, as we shall see later, Eugenius III. granted the required palliums.[3]

Necessity for reducing the scope of these biographies.

As materials for the *lives* of the Popes are now beginning to be very abundant, it will be no longer possible for us to narrate at length their action with regard to all the important members of the Church Catholic. In future biographies we shall have to confine our attention more and more to their general policy in connection with the Empire, and, in the matter of their more local relations, to Rome itself, and to the British Isles. If, however, it is found that an event of more than ordinary importance in any country calls for the special intervention of the Popes, it will, of course, not be left without suitable mention.

To give, however, an idea of the extent of the influence exerted by Innocent, a brief enumeration will be given here of his more important relations with persons, places, and things not noticed in the preceding chapters.

Spain.

With regard to Spain, passing over grants of privilege,[4] we will merely note Innocent's insistence on the Spanish bishops obeying the primate of Toledo,[5] and his confirmation of the action in Spain of his legate Cardinal Guido.[6]

[1] *Ib.*, c. 30.

[2] *Cf.* ep. 374 of St. Bernard, wherein he deplores the heavy loss the Church of Ireland has sustained, and adds, "God has indeed honoured us greatly in permitting that our house should be edified by the spectacle of his blessed death, and enriched by the precious treasure of his body."

[3] Brennan, *l.c.*, p. 229 ff.; D'Alton, *l.c.*, i. 154.

[4] Jaffé, 7806.

[5] *Ib.*, 8279, 8315.

[6] Ep. 357.

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Poland.

To reward St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, for the support which he gave to his cause against the antipope, Innocent subjected to him (June 4, 1133) the bishops of Poland and Pomerania.[1] No doubt, however, the Polish hierarchy objected to have their liberties sacrificed to political necessities, and the *archbishop* of Gnesen applied to Innocent to have the possessions of his see confirmed. The granting of this request by Innocent to *archbishop* James,[2] and subsequent independent action on the part of the Polish bishops, show that the concession to St. Norbert soon became a dead letter.[3] In their work of reform we find Innocent's legates acting as vigorously in Poland as in England.[4]

Pomerania, conversion of, 1122–1139.

North of Poland between the Oder and the Vistula stretched Pomerania, inhabited in the twelfth century by a Slavonic people, skilled in war both on land and sea, accustomed to live on plunder, fierce and indomitable, but among themselves sociable, hospitable, and honest.[5] However in Boleslas III., Wry-mouthed, duke of Poland, they met a master. Anxious to secure his conquests, he wished to make the Pomeranians Christian; but it was some time before any one could be found who was willing to risk his life by preaching the faith of Christ to them. At length

[1] Ep. 142. The document is also printed in full in the *Codex diplom. Majoris Poloniæ*, i. 8 ff., whence it appears that Innocent acceded to the saint's request, seeing that "adversus Petri Leonis tyrannidem murum inexpugnabile te opponeres, et ad ipsius regis et aliorum principum corda in b. Petri obedientiam inducenda, efficaciter laborares." Further, the saint brought forward papal documents to show that in former times the Polish bishops had been subject to Magdeburg.

[2] Jaffé, 7785 (5555), July 7, 1136. This privilege is given in full, ap. *Codex*, *ib.*, p. 10 ff.

[3] Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 150 f.

[4] "Legatus apost. destruxit convivia (conjugia?) sacerdotum." *Ann. Pragenses*, an. 1143, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.

[5] *Cf.* the interesting description of them, ap. Herbordus (†1168), *Dialogus de Ottone*, ii. cc. 1, 41, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*

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the task was undertaken by a Spaniard, Bernard by name. He had at Rome been consecrated bishop to replace one who had there been deposed; but, as a schism arose in his diocese in consequence, he had resigned a burden he had never wished for. He offered himself to Boleslas (*c.* 1122), desiring "either by faith to incorporate the people of Pomerania in the Catholic Church, or by the glory of martyrdom there to lay down his life for Christ."[1] But when, "in the evening of the world," he appeared among the Pomeranians, a splendour-loving people, as a poor mendicant, and told them he was a messenger of God, they laughed at the idea that the Almighty should have such a miserable envoy. They would have nothing to do with him. They would neither listen to him, nor give him the crown of martyrdom.[2] Not long after he had been expelled from their country, he met Otho, bishop of Bamberg. Instinctively recognising that "the apostle of Pomerania" was before him, he bade him take up the work he had failed to do, but told him to enter the country as a prince and not as a beggar.

Otho was a man thoroughly devoted to the Papacy. Owing to schism at home, he went to Rome to be consecrated by Pope Paschal, assuring him that he had resolved to stand or fall with him, and that his one desire was to rest on his authority.[3] Accordingly, when induced to take up Bernard's work, "understanding," says his biographer, "that in a household nothing is of any account which is

[1] Ebbo (he wrote between 1147–1157), *Vita Ottonis*, ii. 1, ap. *ib.*

[2] *Ib.*

[3] See his letter to Pope Paschal II. (1105–6), ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 239. "Tecum aut consistere aut pro te in carcerem ire decrevimus. Auctoritati tuæ . . . cum tota mente desideramus inniti," etc. Otho's biographer, Ebbo (*l.c.*, i. 11), tells us with what affection he was greeted by Paschal, who "erat enim totus caritate diffusus omnique affabilitate jocundus." He was consecrated at Anagni "que Romaniam dividit et Apuliam."

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done without the approval of the master of the house, he realised that so serious an undertaking ought not to be commenced without the authority of the Roman Pontiff."[1] When he had obtained the necessary permission from Pope Calixtus II.,[2] he entered Pomerania with great pomp, and showed by his distribution of gifts that he had come "rather to give of his own than to seek the goods of others."[3] On account of his well-known holiness, and because he came as the envoy of the Pope,[4] he was received with great honour by the people (1124). When the good bishop returned home in the following year to attend to the affairs of his diocese, he had well laid the foundations of the faith in Pomerania. Two years later, with the blessing of Pope Honorius,[5] he again entered the country.

This is not the place to tell all he accomplished till the hour of his death (†1139) to earn the title of "the apostle of Pomerania."[6] Suffice it to note here that Adalbert, the first bishop of Pomerania, was consecrated by Innocent II.,[7] who in 1140 fixed his see at Julin (Wollin), and took it under the protection of the Holy See.[8] But, owing to the destruction of Wollin, Clement III. transferred the see to Camin (February 2, 1188).[9]

Still working among the Slavs for unity and reform,

[1] Ebbo, ii. 3.

[2] *Ib.*; *cf.* Herbord, *Dialogus*, ii. 7.

[3] Herbord, *ib.*

[4] Ebbo, ii. 4, says he was well received "tam pro sue sanctitatis reverentia, quam etiam auctoritate apostolici D. Calixti, cujus missus erat."

[5] *Ib.*, iii. 3.

[6] For his labours see Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, July 2; or more at length in Maclear, *Conversion of the West, The Slavs*, p. 115 ff., or in his *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*.

[7] *Cf.* Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 151–2, quoting a document of Adalbert, ap. Klempin, *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, i. p. 21, no. 43.

[8] Ep. 450, "Commissam tibi (Adalbert) Pommeranensem Ecclesiam sub b. Petri et nostram protectionem suscipimus."

[9] Jaffé, 16,154.

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we find Innocent granting the pallium to the archbishops of Spalato,[1] confirming the metropolitan rights of the church of Ragusa,[2] and dispatching a legate to Moravia.[3] Innocent commended this legate to Henry, bishop of Moravia, to whom, on condition of his faith and fitness being found satisfactory,[4] he had previously given permission to preach Christianity to the Prussians.[5]

The Scandinavians.

Innocent kept in as close touch with the Scandinavians as with the Slavs, and we have a series of letters of his on the subject of obedience due from them to the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, to whom, in accordance with the privileges of his predecessors, he subjects all the Scandinavian bishops, including those of Iceland and Greenland.[6] The kings of Denmark and Sweden and the bishops of the latter country are all exhorted to render canonical obedience to the archbishop of Hamburg (1133).[7] But with the growth of national life in these various lands, it was becoming as difficult to force the bishops of one of them to obey an ecclesiastical superior in another as it was to compel the bishop of Glasgow to obey the archbishop of York. We shall soon see Nicholas Breakspear reorganising the Scandinavian Church.

The East.

In the East we find Innocent bestowing favours on the Hospitallers and the Templars,[8] commanding the arch-

[1] Ep. 411, May 24, 1139. He sends Gaudius the pallium, at the request "of our beloved son Bela, king of Hungary," although he had not come to Rome for his consecration. For a second serious breach of canon law, viz., for consecrating a bishop with only one assistant bishop, Gaudius was deposed by Eugenius III. *Cf.* Thomas, *Hist. Salon.*, c. 19.

[2] Ep. 529, 1142. [3] Ep. 531, 1142.

[4] He had been summoned to Rome "quatenus, cognito fructu exinde proventuro, ibidem, secundum universalis Ecclesiæ doctrinam, assumpta forma docendi, ipsius (S. R. E.) auctoritate, quod faciendum fuerit . . . perficere valeas." Ep. 460, 1140.

[5] Epp. 492, 3, 1141. [6] Ep. 137. [7] Epp. 138–141.

[8] Jaffé, i. 865, 886, for Templars; epp. 30 and 264 for Hospitallers.

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bishop of Tyre to recognise the patriarch of Jerusalem as his superior[1] and to protect the Crusaders, and ordering all the Latins who had taken service with the emperor John Comnenus to leave him if he attempted to seize any places which had been captured by the soldiers of the Cross.[2]

Guardian of public morals.

As guardian of the public virtue of Europe we find Innocent holding conferences with Theodoric, count of Holland, on the correction of the morals of his country,[3] watching paternally over the more frail sex,[4] repeating the condemnation of ordeals,[5] working for peace,[6] and protecting the weak or the oppressed whether in Church or State.[7]

Protector of the Church and its various rights.

But Innocent had also to labour to protect his own rights and those of the Church; and so we find him impressing on the German bishops the right possessed by all of appealing to the Holy See,[8] and nominating the arch-

[1] Epp. 302, 321, 323, 348 ff.

[2] Jaffé, n. 7883; Muralt, *Chronog. Byzant.*, p. 138.

[3] Ep. 439. [4] Ep. 74. [5] Ep. 78.

[6] In addition to the instances already noticed, *cf.* epp. 181 and 315, in which he strives to adjust the quarrel between Pisa and Genoa on the subject of Sardinia and Corsica, known in the Middle Ages as "the island of St. Peter." See the *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam*, by Brother Maurice (1270–3), ed. Storm, *Mon. Hist. Norvegiæ*, p. 167.

[7] Ep. 95, where he takes under the protection of the Holy See the lord of Montispessulano, "the special soldier of Blessed Peter" (*cf.* ep. 15, Celest. II.); ep. 212, where the "consuls of Modena" are excommunicated for harassing the monastery of Nonantula; Jaffé, 7691, 7891–2, where he protects the Church of Holy Cross at Coimbra (Portugal) against its bishop; and Luchaire, *Annales de Louis VI.*, nn. 505–6, 526 ff., where he takes up the cause of Archambaud of the church of Orleans even against the king of France. The anonymous monk who wrote the *Hist. Tornacenses* up to 1150, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv., tells us (*L.*, iv. c. 5) that King Louis VII. of France "christianitate privatus est" in connection with the archbishopric of Bourges, and that the bishops who sanctioned the adultery of Count Ralph "ab officiis episcopalibus per aliquod tempus suspendit."

[8] Epp. 178, 217, and 295.

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bishop of Trier to represent him throughout Germany.[1] To guard the faith we find him condemning Abelard and Arnold of Brescia "as coiners of false doctrine,"[2] and to encourage it, canonising Hugh of Grenoble and Abbot Sturm.[3] Finally, he was a faithful steward of the property of the Church. "As the Church," he wrote, "ought not greedily to strive after what belongs to others, so she ought not by sloth or by a false complaisance to lose what is hers."[4]

[1] With ep. 284 *cf.* 283 and Balderic's *Life* of Adalberon of Trier.
[2] Ep. 448. [3] Epp. 207, 392.
[4] Ep. 203. As an instance of his careful watchfulness over the property of the Church, see his elaborate statement of the Church's claims in connection with the county of Ferrara, which he declared to be the patrimony of the Church. Ep. 396. *Cf.* ep. Celest. II., 50.

Leaden Bulla of Innocent II.

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A shield lozengy, argent and gules.

CELESTINE II.

A.D. 1143–1144.

Sources.—Fifty of his letters, mostly privileges, are printed in *P. L.*, t. 179. Many of them display the motto: "Fiat pax in virtute tua et abundantia in turribus tuis." On account of a curious tax mentioned therein, notice may here be taken of ep. 38. Celestine took the church of Stromberg on the Rhine under the special protection of the Holy See, and in sign thereof they had every year to pay to him and to his successors "two book clasps (?), tenacula libri." It is characteristic of a learned Pope to impose a tax connected with books.

Works.—Alex. Certini, **Vita di Celestino II.*, Foligno, 1716. Certini wrote other books relating to Città di Castello. The latest work on Celestine is by Foglietti (*Celestino II.*, Macerata, 1905). It is a small book of forty-seven pages, mostly taken up with establishing by a careful geographical disquisition that Celestine was "un papa Maceratese."

(For table of contemporary sovereigns, see under Innocent II., p. 3).

Unanimous election of Celestine II., Sept. 26, 1143.

ON the second day after the death of Innocent II., or, as Celestine II. himself, following the Roman method of counting, says, "on the third day,"[1] there took place the

[1] Ep. 2. "Tertia die."

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first perfectly undisturbed papal election which Rome had seen for eighty-two years.[1] The cardinals, whether bishops, priests, deacons, or subdeacons, the clergy, and the Roman people met together in the Lateran basilica, and the cardinals, amid the acclamations of the people, and partly at their request, unanimously elected the cardinal-priest of St. Mark, Guido de Castellis, as the successor of Innocent.[2] The new Pope took the name of Celestine, and seems to have been consecrated immediately after his election.

According to a story told over eighty years after the death of Innocent by an anonymous Cistercian monk,[3] that Pope summoned the cardinals round his death-bed. Then, reminding them of the many great evils which had resulted from the double election when he was made Pope, he urged them to avoid schism, and to choose one of the five whom he named to them. The monk does not say whether Guido was one of the five, but adds that the Pope left forty thousand marks for the defence of the Church.[4]

[1] Peter the Venerable, in a letter to Celestine himself, whom he calls his "new Father, but old friend," bears testimony to the regularity and peace with which his election was conducted. After calling attention to the troubles of one kind or another which had attended the elections of all his predecessors from Alexander II., he says that he has been informed that in his case there was no "humana cupiditas, non Romanus turbo sæpe auditus, orbemque terrarum suo impulsu concutere solitus." Ep. iv. 18, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189. *Cf. Ann. Cavenses*, an. 1143, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii. Arnulf of Lisieux also speaks of the harmonious election of Celestine. "Quis enim audeat sperare dissimilia vel minora de vobis (than from Innocent II.), quem adeo et prioris vitæ rudimenta commendant et modernæ promotionis auspicia divina probant voluntate prælatum." He goes on to speak of his election brought about "concorditer," but bids the Romans not to take all the glory of such unanimity to themselves, as it is the result of the prayers of the "lesser churches." Ep. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201.

[2] Ep. 2, addressed to Cluny. "Me indignum . . . in Romanum pontificem concorditer elegerunt."

[3] See Index.

[4] Ann. 1143-4, p. 27, ed. Gaudenzi.

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His early career.

It is *generally* believed that Guido was a native of Città di Castello, "a little walled town pleasantly situated near the left bank of the Tiber."[1] It stands on the site of the ancient Tifernum Tibernium, and is thought by some to have been afterwards known as the "Happy Fort, Castrum Felicitatis." Paschal II. attached to its cathedral of St. Floridus a body of canons from Lucca. At the request of one who had once belonged to the chapter of St. Floridus, viz., the subject of this biography, Innocent II. took the said cathedral under the apostolic protection[2] (1141). When Guido became Pope himself, he was still mindful of the first cathedral he had served, and, "according to an old and unvarying tradition of the place,"[3] presented it with a magnificent sculptured (*lavoro di cesello*) silver altar-front. This splendid example of the goldsmith's art is preserved in the Archivio of the Chapter, and displays various episodes of the life of our Lord. It is said by d'Agincourt to be the finest extant specimen of the work of the Greek school of the twelfth century.[4]

The real birthplace of Celestine.

It may have been noticed that in the preceding paragraph it was stated that Città di Castello is *generally* believed to have been the birthplace of Celestine II. The reason for the statement is the common, though doubtful, identification of that city with Castrum Felicitatis, which is assigned by Boso as the native town of Celestine II. By the chronicler of Morigny the successor of Innocent II. is called

[1] And, according to the latest writer on C. di C., he was sprung from a noble family, probably the Guelfucci of C. di C. *Cf. Storia di Città di Cast.*, by Magerini-Graziani, vol. ii., C. di C., 1910.

[2] Jaffé, 8132. *Cf.* Ker, *Italia Pontificia*, iv. p. 100 ff.

[3] G. Mancini, *Intorno ad un antico paliotto di P. Celestino II.*, p. 4; Roma, 1841. This author alludes to a *Life* of Celestine II. written by his brother, Canon Giulio Mancini; but, like other works of the canon concerning the Città, it is perhaps still in MS.

[4] He has given an illustration of it, and so has Venturi, *Storia della Arte Italiana*, i. 664.

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Guido *de Castellis*. Now Foglietti, the most recent writer on Celestine, has, it would appear, proved that Castrum Felicitatis cannot be identified with Città di Castello, but must be connected with Macerata in the March of Ancona, midway between Fermo and Osimo.[1] He has also noted that Celestine is called *de Castellis* because sprung from "Castellis Maceratæ," a locality which appears in a charter (1198) in a contemporary register of the bishops of Fermo.

The chronicle of the monastery of Morigny which was visited by Guido when he was accompanying Pope Innocent II. in France, assures us that he was most worthy of the Papacy, because there were combined in him three qualities which are justly regarded as of the first importance, and which had already rendered him a distinguished master in the schools (*Magister* Guido). He had nobility of birth, unflagging industry, and manifold learning.[2] He is generally supposed to have acquired his learning at the feet of Peter Abelard, and certainly was inspired with no little love for that gifted teacher. Hence, when he was cardinal-priest of St. Mark's, St. Bernard wrote to warn him so to love Abelard as not to love his errors, reminding him that "he did not question his goodness in asking him to prefer no one to Christ in Christ's own cause."[3]

His early career.

Guido is said to have begun his career in Rome by being made a subdeacon and a *scriptor apostolicus* by Calixtus II.

[1] Castrum F. was "capoluogo di Comitato e sede di Vescovo, . . . non altro che il Castrum de Macerata." *Un papa Maceratese*, p. 3.

[2] *Chron. Maurin.*, ii. 14, and iii. 6. "Nobilitas generis, mentis industria in omni statu equalis, litterarum quoque, quarum doctrine intentissimus fuit, sciencia multiformis." With regard to the family of Guido, we may note that Herman Corner, who unfortunately is a late and unreliable author (†1437), gives Nicholas as the name of Guido's father. *Chron.*, ap. Eccard, *Corpus*, ii. 688.

[3] Ep. 192. Ep. 196 to Guido the legate on Arnold of Brescia is not addressed to Guido de Castellis.

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At any rate he was certainly made cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata by Honorius II. (1127), and cardinal-priest of St. Mark's by Innocent II. (*c.* 1134), to whom he adhered from the beginning of his troubled pontificate. As cardinal of St. Mark's he was one of those who, on behalf of Pope Innocent's claims with regard to Monte Cassino, held a long discussion with Peter the Deacon.[1] As a mark of his special confidence in him Innocent made him governor of Benevento, and afterwards sent him as his legate into France.

Guido on his election as Pope.

Soon after his election to the Papacy, Celestine wrote to Peter the Venerable and the monks of Cluny to implore their prayers; and the insight which his letter gives us into the state of his mind on that occasion reveals at once his clear understanding and his genuine humility, and abundantly justifies the picture drawn of him by the chronicler of Morigny. While freely acknowledging his unworthiness and complete unfitness for the great dignity to which, "by some inscrutable decree of Heaven," he had been raised, he would, he says, have been glad to decline the burden. "But, because it is not right to oppose the will of God, I accepted what the merciful hand of my King wished to do with me. However, in submitting my neck to the divine yoke, I find myself weighted with such a load that I can truly say: 'I am bent low and humbled exceedingly.' The great number of my occupations so depresses me that my soul can scarcely ever rise to thoughts of heavenly things. I am borne down by the waves of multitudinous cases; and after the peaceful leisure which I enjoyed before I assumed this burden, I have been so buffeted by the billows of a stormy life that I can aver

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 109, "Causidicus pro R. E. directus est Gerardus card. tit. S. Crucis (Lucius II.), nec non et Guido card., qui ambo postea R. rexerunt E." *Cf. supra*, p. 54.

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with truth: 'I am come into the depth of the sea, and a tempest hath overwhelmed me' (Ps. lxviii. 3)." Pray therefore, he continues, that the God of mercy may stretch out His hand to me so that with the barque of His Church, which He has entrusted to me, I may reach the harbour of eternal rest.[1]

General satisfaction at the election of Celestine.

To judge from a letter of Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to Celestine, from which we have already quoted, it would seem that his election was generally popular. According to Arnulf there was, after the death of the heroic Innocent, a widespread fear that the powers of evil would everywhere gain victories over the Church. But, he wrote, on the news of the election of Guido de Castellis, the hopes of wicked men waned, and the good experienced a feeling of security. The previous career of the Pope and the unanimity of his election, continued Arnulf, had caused a conviction "that Rome could not have given the world a more worthy successor of so illustrious a predecessor."[2] Nevertheless, while professing himself but "dust and ashes," the bishop did not bring his letter to a close without exhorting the new Pope to show himself worthy of the high hopes that had been entertained concerning him, and of the satisfaction with which the news of his election had been received.[3]

The "foreign policy" of Celestine. (*a*) Sicily.

Despite his advanced age, Celestine would appear to have given manifestations of an intention to pursue a bold

[1] Ep. 2.

[2] Ep. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201, "Nec alium adeo magnificentiæ tanti predecessoris idoneum Roma nobis offerere poterat successorem." How often could this have been said with truth of newly elected Roman Pontiffs!

[3] *Ib.* "Quanto, domine, pluribus desideriis expetitus es, quanto faciliore concordia præelectus, quanto majore omnium exsultatione susceptus, tanto te Deo et hominibus intelligis obligatum." The diplomatic prelate concludes with a request that he may receive from Celestine the same favour which he received from his predecessor.

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policy differing in many respects from that of his predecessor. He was opposed to Innocent's concessions to Roger of Sicily, and to his recognition of the claims of Stephen to the throne of England. This attitude of Celestine is revealed to us by John of Hexham, who regarded him as a man of a somewhat austere cast of mind. "Being a man of great age," says the prior, "he conceived designs beyond his strength against King Roger of Sicily on account of that very country which belonged to the jurisdiction of the Pope (*juri Apostolici competebat*)."[1] Probably it was just as well for Celestine that an early death prevented him from attempting anything against the powerful Sicilian monarch. Of the embassy he sent him mention will be made in the biography of his successor.

(*b*) England.

Convinced of the justice of the claims of the house of Anjou to the English crown,[2] Celestine was determined to support it, and made known his views by refusing to renew the legatine authority which Innocent had bestowed on Henry of Winchester, a refusal continued by Lucius II., who in other respects showed himself well disposed towards the bishop.[3]

France.

The most important event in the brief reign of Celestine was his reconciling Louis VII. with the Church. Alberic,

[1] *Hist. Dunelm.*, an. 1144. This statement is confirmed by Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, 1143. To one on the banks of the Tyne writing about the Popes it is very interesting to find details about a Pope preserved only by a Northumbrian writer; and it is pleasant to record that the grand old abbey church of Hexham has lately been so well restored, and that in the course of its restoration the fine Anglo-Saxon crypt of St. Wilfrid was accidentally discovered after having been lost to view for centuries. He who has seen the abbey in the springtime, rising out of the surrounding apple-blossom, will never forget it.

[2] John, *ib.*, calls him "alumpnus Andegavensium."

[3] *Ib.*, 1145.

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archbishop of Bourges, died in 1141. Seemingly with a view to securing the election of one of his courtiers, Louis VII., known as the Young, declared that, with the exception of Pierre de la Châtre, the canons might elect whomsoever they chose. The chapter, however, elected Pierre; and, as the king swore he should never be archbishop whilst he lived, the newly elected prelate went to Rome to lay his case before Pope Innocent. The king is a boy, said the Pope, and must be educated, lest he fall into bad habits. Thereupon he consecrated Pierre himself, and sent him back to France to take possession of his see (1142); for, as he truly said, that was not a free election where one of the candidates was excluded by a temporal prince.[1] When Pierre returned to France, although "all the churches obeyed him," the king would not allow him to enter his episcopal city. Thereupon Innocent struck with an interdict every place which the king of France might enter.[2] Theobald, count of Champagne, received the fugitive archbishop into his dominions,[3] and for some time

[1] *Chron. Maurin.*, iii. § 5; Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.*, an. 1146, ap. Twysden, *Script. X.*, p. 508. It should be noted that the words of the Pope are only given by William de Nangis, *Chron.*, 1141, p. 34, ed. Géraud, Paris, 1843. William was a monk of St. Denis, and did not write till the close of the thirteenth century. According to Delisle, *Mem. sur les ouvrages de G. de N.*, ap. *Académie des Inscrip.*, t. 27, p. 289, he must be accounted one of the most productive and useful writers of the thirteenth century. His chronicle extended from 1113 to 1300, and, owing to a dearth of contemporary writers, is used as an authority for the history of the twelfth century. Kitchin, *History of France*, i. 267, writing with undisguised Erastianism (Louis "very properly asserted his right to name the archbishop," etc.), gives a misleading account of this transaction by not pointing out that the candidate supported by Innocent was the one who had been elected by those who had the right so to do.

[2] Morigny and Diceto, *ll. cc.*

[3] *Contin. Chron. Sigebert.*, *Auct. Ursicampinum*, an. 1141. "Cujus (Pierre) partes, quia, propter reverentiam seu voluntatem papæ, comes Theobaldus fovere videbatur, simultas, quæ sopita videbatur, inter regem et ipsum cœpit repullulare." *Cf.* ep. Bern., 216.

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all efforts made by St. Bernard and others to bring about an understanding completely failed.[1] Matters were still further complicated by the fact that Ralph, seneschal of France, divorced a niece of Theobald to marry a sister of the queen. Theobald turned to Rome, and Ralph to the king. War broke out between Louis and the count with terrible results to the people of Champagne, over one thousand of them being burnt to death in a church during the siege of Vitry (January 1143). St. Bernard was greatly distressed at the miseries produced by the war, and never ceased negotiating with all the parties concerned till his efforts were at last crowned with success. But in the meantime he sanctioned, and induced Innocent to sanction, an equivocal diplomatic ruse, which effected but a momentary peace, and brought remorse to the devoted abbot, as well as the ill-will of the Pope.[2] But Innocent could not be moved, either by the letters of St. Bernard[3] or by the entreaties of such of his cardinals as had been gained over by Macharius, abbot of Morigny, the special envoy of the king, to remove the interdict until Louis should recall his oath.[4]

Interdict removed from France 1144.

At length Innocent died, and various causes contributed to make Louis as well as St. Bernard and Theobald anxious for peace. All appealed to the new Pope. "That which Count Theobald asks of you," wrote the saint to Celestine,[5] "I ask also; he is a son of peace, and we entreat you that it may be brought about by your assistance. . . . Give us then this peace; send peace to us."

[1] Epp. Bern., 216–9.

[2] *Cf.* Vacandard, *St. Bernard*, ii. 188 ff.; the whole of his chapter 24 is devoted to this affair. *Cf.* epp. Bern., 217, 220.

[3] Ep. 219.

[4] *Chron. Maurin.*, iii. 5. "Sed ad reconciliationis gratitudinem, nec precibus nec muneribus adtingens, reversus est (Macharius)."

[5] Ep. 358.

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Again, too, the ambassadors of Louis appeared in Rome. This time all were in earnest to win the blessings of peace, and "rising up with joy in the midst of the envoys and of a crowd of nobles, at whose numbers Rome is wont to groan, Celestine raised his hand and made the sign of the cross in the direction of France, and thus absolved it from the sentence of interdict."[1] Pierre de la Châtre received from the king the temporalities of his see, and afterwards became his close friend; while Louis is said by our chronicler, Ralph de Diceto, to have vowed to take the cross in reparation for his rash vow.

Death of Celestine.

"But death, who spares no one," says the oft-quoted chronicler of Morigny, "suddenly snatched from this world even this great Pope." He died on March 8, 1144, in the monastery of St. Sebastian on the Palatine (*apud Palladium*),[2] and was buried in the south transept of the Lateran basilica near Honorius II.[3]

The so-called prophecies of St. Malachy.

It is with Pope Celestine[4] that the so-called prophecies of St. Malachy begin. They first saw the light in a book, *Lignum Vitæ, Ornamentum et Decus Ecclesiæ*, published in 1595 by the Benedictine Arnold Wion, and are thought to have been fabricated for the election of Gregory XIV. in 1590, or "about 1585, shortly after the accession of Sixtus V.," when the forger set down a number of mottoes which

[1] *Chron. Maurin.*, iii. 6.

[2] Hence some think that a continuation of the republican troubles begun under Innocent had forced him to take refuge among the Frangipani.

[3] John the Deacon, *De eccles. Lat.*, c. 8. We may add that Celestine favoured both the Templars, ordering a general collection for them (Jaffé, 8478), and the Hospitallers, placing under their care the hospital of St. Mary *Teutonicorum* (*ib.*, 8472 *a*, ii. p. 758). No doubt this was in connection with the *Schola Francorum* and the Church of S. Salvatore *in Turrione* or *de Ossibus* or *in Macello*. *Cf.* Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 765 f

From the place of his birth, the motto assigned to him was "Ex Castro Tiberis."

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would well apply to a number of men then living in Rome who might one day be Popes. They have continued to deceive the unwary from that day to this.[1]

[1] For a full account and destructive criticism of these *prophecies*, see Novaes, *Storia de' sommi Pontef.*, iii. p. 40 ff.; and Father Thurston in the *Month*, June and July 1899. The theory that they were concocted in 1585 is Father Thurston's; see also Vacandard, ap. *Revue des quest. hist.*, July 1892, p. 50 ff.; and the article "Prophecy" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The best and fullest recent apology for these *prophecies* is the work of the abbé J. Maitre, *La Prophétie des Papes*, Beaune, 1901.

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Argent, a bear rampant proper sable.[1]

LUCIUS II.

A.D. 1144–1145.

Sources.—Migne (*P. L.*, t. 179) gives us ninety-five letters of this Pope, nearly all privileges. The *Regesta* of Jaffé show that at least as many more are known. In nearly every case where Lucius confirms a privilege he takes care to note that he is following in the footsteps of some of his predecessors, whom he nearly always names, and whose grants he says he has carefully examined (ep. 40); and in taking monasteries, etc., "under his protection," he generally requires the usual acknowledgment of a golden byzant, to be paid yearly to him and to his successors. However, from one convent, "as a mark of the liberties obtained from the Roman Church," he exacted every four years a white horse with a *rustrolinum* (?), pallium (ep. 9). Strange taxes must have been received during the course of the year by the papal *camerarius*: golden roses, white horses, accessories for books, almonds, ecclesiastical vestments of every kind, and, a little later at least, coarse cloth (*wadmal*) from Iceland, and skins and walrus ivory from Greenland, etc., etc. Another letter is worth noticing (ep. 11), as it shows the value of books at this period. To redeem captives, besides hostages or sureties, a copy of the Gospels

[1] According to Frassoni, p. 15, the arms of the distinguished Bolognese family to which Lucius belonged always displayed a field argent. Hence for the "gules" of Leuridan, etc., we should read "argent."

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(*textum Evangelii*) had also to be given. Special attention may be called to ep. 52, as it is the first example we have found of what afterwards became a crying abuse, against which we shall see bishops like Grosseteste loudly protesting. It is what we may call a mandamus (*rogando mandamus*, says the Pope), addressed to the bishop of Arras, bidding him, "for the reverence he owed to Blessed Peter and to the Pope," to bestow a prebend on a learned young man of good repute who had been for some time attached to the household of Cardinal Imarus, bishop of Tusculum (May 29, 1144).[1] The same volume of the *Patrologia* gives eighteen letters addressed to Lucius. Many of the letters of Lucius bear the motto: "Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam." Boso's biography of Lucius, though slightly longer than his *Life* of Celestine, only runs to a dozen or two lines.

(For contemporary sovereigns, see under Innocent II., p. 3.)

Gerard of Bologna.

GERARD CACCIANEMICI, a native of Bologna and the son of Ursus, was for a long time a canon of St. John Lateran.[2] He was taken thence by Honorius II., and made librarian of the Roman Church, and cardinal-priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. "Like a good pastor," says Boso, he not only completely renovated his basilica, and attached thereto a body of regular canons, but he also materially improved its revenue. Unfortunately, the present S. Croce does not contain any memorial of Lucius, though it appears[3] that

[1] "Cum . . . Imaro . . . episcopo . . . aliquandiu bene conversatus est." Ep. 52. The name of this cardinal (who was sent by Lucius as his legate to England) furnishes a good example of the way in which the same name is spelt in medieval documents. It generally appears as Imarus or Ymarus, but it is also written Ymerus, Aymarus, Ismaurus, Imarys, Incarus, Igmarus, Icmarus; in English documents Hicmarus, etc.

[2] John the Deacon, *De eccles. Lat.*, c. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1386. According to Frassoni, the Pope's name should be *dell' Orso*, as in 1198 Caccianemico dell' Orso gave his name to his descendants. *Essai d'Armorial des Papes*, p. 15.

[3] *L. P.*, ii. 385.

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on the ancient ciborium there were to be seen the names of three Roman marble-workers who are known to have lived in Gerard's time. When he became Pope he did not forget his former titular church, but "on the octave of his consecration offered on its altar a copy of the Gospels, bound with plates of gold, and most beautifully adorned with precious stones and enamels."[1] Not long after, he presented it with a superb altar-cover and with two splendidly chased silver-gilt ampullæ for use at Mass. He further endowed it with the Church of St. John before the Latin Gate, and the church and hospital of St. Nicholas near the Porta Asinaria or Laterannensis.[2]

"On account of his learning and virtue" he was still further advanced by Innocent II., who made him chancellor of the Apostolic See,[3] and sent him on important embassies as his predecessors had done.[4] Finally, when dying, Innocent entrusted him, "as the most important member of the Church," with the charge of its goods.[5]

Becomes Pope. His troubled pontificate.

Of the details of the election which made Cardinal Gerard Pope Lucius II. nothing is known. He was consecrated on Sunday, March 12, 1144, and had a pontificate, short indeed, but much troubled by the new republican faction and by illness.[6]

Roger of Sicily.

One who was greatly rejoiced at the election of Lucius was King Roger of Sicily. Gerard had been his friend, and the godfather of one of his children.[7] The king had received early notice of his accession to the Apostolic See, and astounded the legates, Cardinal Octavian and the consul Cencius Frangipane, whom Celestine had sent to

[1] John, *l.c.* [2] *Ib.* *Cf.* Jaffé, 8711, and Boso. [3] Boso.

[4] The *Ann. Rodenses*, 1134 (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.), show him in Germany in 1134.

[5] Boso. [6] Ep. 64.

[7] Romuald of Salerno (*Chron.*, an. 1143), who says, "Rogerius . . . gavisus est valde, eo quod compater et amicus ejus exstiterat."

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him to arrange a *modus vivendi* with Rome, by informing them that their master was no more, and that his friend, the late chancellor, was reigning in his stead. As their powers expired with the death of Celestine, the two envoys returned to Rome; but they were bearers of a request to the new Pope from Roger that he would arrange an interview with him. The two met at Ceprano, on the right bank of the Liris (June).

The king and his two sons, after kissing the Pope's feet and then his lips, professed themselves his servants, and offered him some splendid presents in the shape of golden vessels and silk altar coverings "marvellously embroidered with gold." Then, after Mass, terms of peace were discussed. The Pope demanded back the principality of Capua, whilst Roger wished the surrender to him even of those parts of it still in the hands of the Pope.

Day after day passed, and no agreement could be arrived at.[1] Although Lucius was as well disposed towards Roger as his predecessor had been ill disposed to him, the Romans remained as hostile to him as ever. Hence, through the opposition of his cardinals, Lucius could not come to any satisfactory understanding with the Sicilian king.[2] Roger in a rage returned to Sicily, and commissioned his son Roger, duke of Apulia, to invade Campania. He did so, and ravaged the country as far as Ferentino. This no doubt had its effect on the Romans, and the Pope was enabled to make a truce at least with the Normans. They surrendered what they had captured, and withdrew (about September 1144).[3]

Fresh outbreak of the Romans, Oct.-Nov. 1144.

When Lucius first became Pope he seems to have been

[1] *Chron. ign. monach. Cist.*, an. 1144, p. 27 f.

[2] *Ib.* With Peter the Venerable, ep. iv. 19, *cf.* Lucius, ep. 64, Sept. 22, 1144.

[3] Ep. 64, Romuald; and *Anon. Chron. Cas.*, 1143, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v.

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The Capitol in 1552.
(Fragment of a plan of P. Ligorio, fl. c. 1550.)

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successful in dealing with the Senate. By his prudence and firmness, and by the exercise of the same eloquence as had brought about the election of Lothaire,[1] he succeeded in inducing or compelling the new senators to leave the Capitol and lay down their usurped power (*magisterium*).[2] But, making use of his peace with Roger, as they had used the Tivoli incident under Pope Innocent, "Jordan (the son of Pierleone I., and brother of the antipope Anacletus), with the senators and all the lesser people, rebelled against the Pope."[3] The leader of the rising, Jordan, was proclaimed Patricius, and the republic was again constituted, or rather a *tyranny* under Jordan was established.[4]

Lucius invokes aid of Conrad.

In his difficulties Lucius turned to the natural protector of the Church, Conrad, king of the Romans. He wrote and told him of the appointment of a Patricius "whom all obey as a prince," and of the senators coming to him and demanding that he should yield up all his regal rights (*regalia*), both within and without the city, into the hands of their Patricius, and, like the ancient bishops, support himself on tithes and offerings[5] (December ?, 1144).

St. Bernard supports the Pope's appeal to Conrad.

When news of this second outbreak of the Romans reached St. Bernard, he was much distressed, and himself wrote a strong letter to Conrad urging him to take up the sword in the Pope's behalf.[6] He reminded him that God had instituted kings and priests for their mutual support. "May my soul never come into the counsel of those who

[1] *Cf. supra*, vol. viii. p. 241. [2] Boso. [3] *Anon. Chron.*, *l.c.*

[4] Romuald, *l.c.*, "Senatores *de novo* in Urbe creavit (populus Romanus)." *Cf.* the letter of the Pope to Conrad, ap. Otto Fris., *Chron.*, vii. 31, or ep. 813, "Omnes ei (Jordan) tanquam principi subjciuntur." [5] Ep. 83.

[6] Ep. 244. On the correct date of this letter, see Vacandard, *St. Bernard*, ii. 257 n. He shows it belongs to the year 1144.

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say that either the peace and liberty of the churches is injurious to the Empire, or that the prosperity and exaltation of the Empire are harmful to the churches. For God, the Founder of both, has not joined them for destruction, but for edification. . . . Is not (then) Rome at once the Apostolic See and the capital of the Empire? . . . It is well known that to guard his own crown and to defend the Church are in the charge of Cesar. . . . The haughtiness and arrogance of the Romans are greater than their courage. . . . This accursed and turbulent people, which knows not how to measure its strength, . . . has in its folly had the audacity to attempt this great sacrilege."

Lucius turns to the Frangipani.

Whilst awaiting Conrad's reply, Lucius seems to have formed a party among the aristocracy, and to have trusted especially to the Frangipani, to whom he handed over as a fortress the Circus Maximus (January 31, 1145).[1] With its Turris Cartularia and castellated arch of Titus on the one side, and its fortified Circus on the other, this powerful family had complete control of the southern portion of the Palatine. The whole neighbourhood of the Forum soon resounded with the clang of arms, and Lucius had to write to say that the great disturbances in the city prevented him from going to St. Saba's on the Aventine to ordain its abbot (January 20, 1145).[2]

Death of Lucius II., 1145.

The Pope himself would appear to have been in the very midst of these disturbances. He led an attack on the Capitol, but was beaten off by Jordan, and, according to Godfrey of Viterbo, was grievously wounded by some great stones which caused or accelerated his death.[3] However, of this wounding, which Godfrey mentions as a report, the

[1] See his grant, ap. Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 428.

[2] Ep. 92. *Cf.* ep. 61.

[3] *Sigebert. contin. Præmonstrat.*, 1145; Godefrid., *Pantheon*, c. 48, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 261. Godfrey, in speaking of the wounding of the Pope, adds "sicut tunc audivimus."

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local writers say nothing; and it seems more likely that the improvement in his health, to which on September 22, 1144, Lucius looked forward, did not take place.[1] He died[2] at St. Gregory's on the Clivus Scauri, where he would be under the protection of the neighbouring fortresses of the Frangipani, before he had been Pope for twelve months (February 15, 1145). He was buried with due solemnity in the Lateran basilica in the circular portico behind the apse.[3] For this Pope the illustrious abbot, Peter the Venerable, declared that he had more affection than for any of his predecessors, and that this affection was engendered not merely by the Pope's kindness towards himself, but still more by the great piety which he perceived in his heart.[4]

A legate for England.

During his short reign Lucius had much intercourse with England. Not only did he give a number of privileges to bishops, to monasteries, and to churches,[5] and exempt the monastery of St. Edmund from all subjection even to the secular authority,[6] but, "on the business of the Church," sent a legate into England.[7] The papal legate was Igmarus (Hicmar), and he was commissioned among other things to investigate the claims of Bernard, bishop of St. David's, to metropolitical authority, and to take the pallium to William, archbishop of York.

Wales.

Bernard, who is praised by the Welsh chronicles for his

[1] "Dominus . . . nos . . . castigans castigavit, sed morti non tradidit. Per ipsius misericordiam convalescimus, et pristinam sanitatem in brevi nos recepturos speramus." Ep. 64.

[2] "Infirmitate correptus." Sigebert., *l.c.*

[3] Boso; John the Deacon, *l.c.*; Jaffé, *sub* 8713; ep. 1, Eugen. III., ap. *P. L.*, t. 180, p. 1013.

[4] Ep. Petri, iv. 19.

[5] Epp. 27–29, 80–82; Jaffé, 8601, 8582.

[6] Jaffé, 8561.

[7] *Cf.* ep. 39, May 14, 1144, where he says he is going to send a legate to England.

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"extreme exertions upon sea and land towards procuring for the church of Menevia its ancient liberty,"[1] addressed a letter "to Innocent, the supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church" asking that "gracious (*clemens*) judge" to grant his church the pallium.[2] He renewed his petition to Pope Lucius, who replied that he had carefully examined the letters he had sent to the Apostolic See, but had decided that the case should be examined on the spot by his legate.[3] There is no record that Igmarus made any inquiry into the claims of Bernard, and although the Church of St. David's continued to appeal to Rome for the pallium, the opposition of Canterbury was always strong enough to defeat its attempts.

William, archbishop of York.

From John of Hexham it would appear that Igmarus did not reach England till 1146,[4] and that, as Archbishop William, "through carelessness, being engaged in other affairs of less moment, as was customary with him, delayed to meet him," Igmarus returned to Rome without giving him the pallium. He had found that there was a suspicion that William had been elected by undue influence of the court, and that consequently all those who were anxious for a reform were opposed to him. Among these the chief was Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains, who, according to the historian of Hexham, relied on his favour with the Pope.[5] When in 1147 Eugenius III. deposed William, he consecrated Henry in his stead.[6]

Territories placed under the feudal suzerainty of the Pope.

Whilst the Roman people were striving to lower the

[1] *Brut y Twyysogion*, p. 177, R. S.

[2] Ap. *Girald. Camb.*, De Invect., ii. 7, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 344. *Cf.* Newell, *A History of the Welsh Church*, p. 183 ff.

[3] Ep. 39, or ap. Haddan, *l.c.*, p. 348.

[4] He no doubt arrived at the end of 1144 or the beginning of 1145.

[5] *Hist. Dunelm.*, an. 1146.

[6] See *infra*, under Eugenius III., and the charming biography of Henry in Dixon's *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i. 210 ff.

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dignity of the Pope by depriving him of authority in his own city, he was being made the suzerain of cities and of kingdoms, and property belonging to the Church was being freely restored to him.

Guido, a cardinal-deacon, and his brother Ubaldino, anxious to withdraw their portion of the town (*castellum*, *castrum*) of Montalto on the Arno, in the diocese of Lucca, from the devastating war then going on between that city and Pisa, made it over to the Pope (March 18, 1144), and, under a penalty of ten pounds of gold, agreed to defend it for him against all comers.[1] Their territories were then returned to them as a fief. The same also was done with the kingdom of Portugal.

Portugal.

Count Henry of Besançon, one of the Burgundian nobles who had come to aid Alfonso VII. of Castile and Leon, *el Emperador*, in his wars against the Moors, had been made by him governor of Portugal. On the death of Alfonso (1109), Henry styled himself "by God's grace, Count and Lord of all Portugal," and his son Alfonso Henriquez, after his great victory over the Moors at Ourique (1139), was saluted as king by his people. To strengthen his independence of the crown of Castile and Leon, Henriquez had turned to the Holy See, and had already done homage to Innocent II. Addressing Lucius, "*Adefonsus*, by the grace of God king of Portugal," tells him that he had already done homage to his Lord and Father Innocent II., and had offered him his territory on condition that, whilst he and his successors were to pay yearly four ounces of gold to Blessed Peter, he, "as the special soldier or vassal (*miles*) of Blessed Peter and the Roman Pontiff," and his successors were to have "the defence and support (*solatium*) of the Apostolic See," so that he should never be compelled to acknowledge any ecclesiastical or secular

[1] See the deed ap. Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 403.

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superior save only the Apostolic See or its legate *a latere*.[1] (December 13, 1142).[2]

"The Papacy" says an historian of Portugal, "in the words of an eloquent writer, was a kind of tribunal of dictatorship, since its action, falling immediately over the ferocious and brutal rulers of Europe, exercised its power to protect the weak and helpless. The religious influence of the Pontificate at an epoch principally characterised by the association of a lively faith and laxity of customs, became a powerful balance to render vacillating the firmest throne, but at the same time it was a firm column against which the weakest might lean. . . . At times (sovereigns) repelled the idea that the Pope should be the dispenser of crowns, but the very ones who in some juncture refused the supreme jurisdiction of the Church, were the most forward to acknowledge and invoke its aid when urged by necessity or ambitious motives."[3]

In acknowledging the feudal homage of Alfonso Henriquez (May 1, 1144), Lucius did not go quite as far as the new ruler had hoped. The Pope praises his act, excuses him, owing to his struggles with the infidel, from the obligation of coming to Rome and in person offering his homage to the Pope, and receives him among the heirs of the Prince of the Apostles, so that he may remain under his protection. But he did not acknowledge his kingly title; he saluted him merely as "Dux Portugallensis."[4]

Nevertheless, "the homage of the Portuguese Crown

[1] See the charter of Henriquez, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 935 f. "Domino et Patri meo P. Innocentio hominium feci, et terram quoque meam b. Petro et S.R.E. offero sub annuo censu quatuor unciarum auri," etc.

[2] The charter is dated "Idus Decembris, æra 1180," *i.e.*, A.D. 1142; but it was presented to Lucius in 1144.

[3] M'Murdo, *The History of Portugal*, i. 173.

[4] Ep. 26.

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having been accepted by the Apostolic See, the last vestiges of its dependence in relation to Leon altogether disappeared. . . . But, as vassal to the Prince of the Church, it was due to the Pope to confirm the royal dignity."[1] After much negotiation this was done by Alexander III.

Restoration of papal rights at Corneto.

While Lucius was receiving fresh rights of overlordship which had never before been held by the Papacy, he also received back some which had been taken from them. From the days when the prefect Peter, the son of John Michinus, "first held Corneto," the rights and property of the Holy See in that city were usurped. Accordingly, on November 20, 1144, the consuls and people of Corneto, by formal deed, voluntarily restored all that had been taken from the Roman Church.[2]

Humbert of Pringins.

Almost at the very time too when in Rome Lucius himself stood much in need of help, his protection was sought in that very city. Humbert of Pringins (a castle situated above Lake Geneva, near Nyon), came to Rome, did homage to the Pope for his estates, paying in sign thereof the ordinary annual tax of a golden byzant, and received them back as a fief of the Holy See.[3]

Heretics at Liège.

Another who had recourse to Rome, which Peter the Venerable called "the well-known refuge of all,"[4] was the church of Liège (*Ecclesia Leodiensis*). Its letter to Lucius begins thus: "As we believe, and as facts show,

[1] M'Murdo, *ib.*, p. 175. *Cf.* Dunham, *The History of Spain and Portugal*, iii. p. 17 ff.; Salisbury, *Portugal and its People*, pp. 30–38, London, 1893.

[2] The deed is in Fabre, *l.c.*, p. 402. *Cf.* Fedele in *Archivio Rom. di storia*, 1912, p. 588 n.

[3] Ep. 33, May 11, 1144. *Cf.* ep. 57. On the principle that the goods of all Crusaders are under the protection of the Holy See, Lucius orders the bishop of Arras to secure the restoration of the property of a nobleman which had been taken whilst he was on "the Jerusalem journey."

[4] "Notum et commune refugium," ep. iv. 4.

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divine wisdom has set the see of Rome in the citadel of the Catholic Church, that, by its foresight, protection may be found for all, and that those whom the battle of life threatens with destruction may have a haven of refuge." The writers proceed to say that they wish to bring before Lucius, who has the care of all the churches, the doctrines of certain men who have newly appeared among them, and who are leading the minds of simple people into error, in order that he may suppress them. They tell the Pope that the errors of which they complain arose in France in a place which they call Monte Guimari,[1] viz., Montwimer, near Chalons, in Champagne. The people, they continue, would have burnt the heretics, but they have saved most of them, and are sending him one of them who has abjured the heresy, and given them information about the sect which he has renounced.

It proved to be one of those infamous sects which were not content with denying the efficacy of the sacraments, or the lawfulness of ever taking an oath, or with asserting that the Catholic Church was to be found only among themselves, but went to the outrageous length of condemning matrimony, and of hypocritically receiving the sacraments of the Church in order to hide their doings.[2]

[1] Ep. ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 937 f. They complain that the heresy of Monte Guimari was so manifold that they could not give it a single name.

[2] "Conjugium damnant . . . Hi tamen qui hujus sceleris sectatores sunt, sacramentis nostris ficte communicant, ad nequitiæ suæ velamentum." *Ib.* These sectaries had a regular hierarchy, and were a veritable secret society. It is one thing, conceivably a correct thing, to call in question certain articles of Catholic faith which are more or less remotely connected with natural ethics, but it is another and a very different thing to attack dogmas which lie at the root of all real civilisation, as, for instance, the Christian doctrine regarding matrimony. Hence in the interests of the common weal there is far more reason to deal strictly with fanatics who play fast and loose with the contract of marriage, than with such as violate any other

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The aforesaid letter finished by informing the Pope that the heretics who had been rescued from the angry populace had been placed in various religious houses, and he was asked what should be done in their regard. It also added that "all the cities of the Gallic kingdom and of ours are to a great extent infected with the poison of this error."

This communication from the church of Liège is only one of many documents of this period which show that in various parts of France, and in the northern provinces of the Empire, there were sectaries who were trying in secret to spread doctrines which were closely akin to Manicheism, and which were in practice very adverse to morality. Proceedings had been instituted against similar heresies in the eleventh century,[1] but they had either not been rooted out, or they had been reintroduced into Europe from the East or from Africa.[2] On this occasion certainly, though the eloquence of St. Bernard was enlisted against them,[3] these unholy doctrines were not stamped out, and we shall soon see what evil fruit they brought forth in Languedoc, and what bloodshed was caused by the attempt, perhaps necessary, to crush them out by force.

Whether the important letter which we have just analysed ever reached Lucius is not known. If it did, his short and disturbed pontificate prevented him from attending to it; for, as we have seen, though "by his

contract. These sectaries will be treated of at length under Innocent III. Meanwhile, see Guiraud, *Questions d'histoire*, Paris, 1906, and *infra*, vol. x. 141 ff. and 258 ff.

[1] *Supra*, vol. vi. 66–67.

[2] Gregory the Great tells (ep. ii. 37) the bishop of Squillace not to ordain Africans: "quia Afri quidem aliqui Manichæi"; and in documents of the ages between Gregory and the twelfth century I have not infrequently found texts which have connected Manicheism with Africans.

[3] *Cf.* Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, ii. ch. xxv.

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affability and humility he was worthy of his office,"[1] he did not occupy it twelve months.

[1] Otto Frising, *Chron.*, vii. 31. Despite this testimony of a serious historian, the Romans, according to Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 491 n.), made the following pasquinade about this Pope Lucius.

"Lucius est piscis vocitatus, raptor aquarum,
A quo discordat Lucius iste parum."

Gloss on Ægid., *Aureaval.*, iii. 28, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxv. 100. According to Ausonius, *In Mosell.*, v. 120, the *lucius* was not eaten at table, though

"Fervet fumosis olido nitore popinis."

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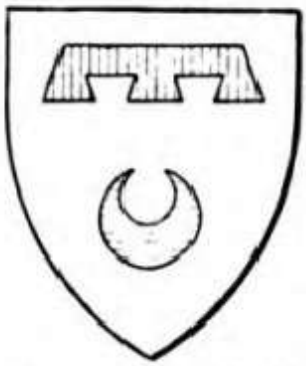

Argent a crescent azure in chief, a label gules.

BLESSED EUGENIUS III.

A.D. 1145–1153.

Sources.—Eugenius III. is one of the Popes of whom Boso has given us a short biography; ap. *L. P.*, ii. 386 f.; Watterich, ii. 281 ff.; and *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i. p. 439. In the last-named collection it is with the other *Lives* of Boso wrongly ascribed to the cardinal of Aragon. But of far greater importance is the *Historia Pontificalis*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xx., now universally attributed to John of Salisbury (†1180).[1] In 1136 John was in Paris "greedily seizing all that fell from the lips" of Abelard, and, by his subsequent studies of Latin literature, etc., at Chartres and Paris, he became one of the most learned men of his age. About the year 1150 he entered the service of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. His work as secretary and agent of the archbishop took him often to Rome, and brought him into frequent contact with the great men of his age. He was the friend of Pope Hadrian IV. and St. Thomas Becket; and, four years before he died, was consecrated bishop of Chartres (1176). Obviously John of Salisbury was well fitted to be the historian of his times; and to some extent, as well indirectly as directly, he became such. Much can be learnt regarding contemporary history not merely from his more philosophical works (the *Policraticus*, and the *Metalogicus*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199) and from his letters (ap. *ib.*;

[1] *Cf. Jean de Salisbury*, by M. Demimuid, Paris, 1873; *The Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, i. 183 ff., Cambridge, 1907.

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or, with the rest of his works, in five vols., by Giles, Oxford and London, 1848; or, partly, ap. *Recueil des Hist. des Gaules*, t. xvi., ed. Paris, 1813), but naturally still more from his *Lives* of SS. Anselm and Thos. Becket (ap. *P. L.* or Giles) and from his *Historia Pontificalis*. Though the *Historia*, as it has come down to us, is but a fragment, and only treats of the ecclesiastical history of four years (1148–1152), it is, of all the sources we have yet used for the *Lives* of the Popes, one of the most realistic, in the best sense of that word (*cf. supra*, p. 80, n. 2).

The next source of which we would speak is a comparatively new one, having been published for the first time in 1887 (Rome). It is an heroic contemporary poem of nearly 3350 verses, and is entitled *Gesta per Imperatorem Federichum Barbam rubeam in partibus Lumbardie et Ytalie*. It was discovered by Professor Monaci in the Vatican Library, and soon after partially (verses 610–860) published by him in the *Archivio della Società Rom. di Storia Patria*, vol. i., 1877. He has since published it in its entirety under the title of *Gesta di Federico I. in Italia* (Rome, 1887). As it treats of the deeds of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in Italy between the years 1154–1160, it is obviously a source for the pontificate of Hadrian IV. However, as it will be quoted in this biography in connection with Arnold of Brescia, it may well be discussed here. It appears to have been written between the years 1162–1166 by a Bergamese whilst his city was still standing for Frederick. Though an admirer of the emperor, his good faith and exact knowledge are manifest. If his verse cannot be set down as more than tolerable, he is an effective writer on account of the simplicity of his style and the directness of his narrative.

One of the most voluminous writers of the twelfth century was Gerhoh, provost of Reichersberg (b. 1193–1194, †1169). He was not indeed an historian, but he has incidentally preserved not a few historical facts; for he wrote on all the great questions of his age. Though a devoted adherent of the Roman Church, from which in matters of faith he wished never to dissent,[1] he was not blind to some of the defects of the Roman curia. These, with other clerical abuses of his time, he did not hesitate to

[1] "Nunquam in doctrina fidei a S. Rom. ecclesia dissentire volo." *Opusc. VIII. de gloria Filii Hominis*, p. 397, ed. Sackur.

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denounce, sometimes in language rather stronger than the circumstances of the times altogether justified. But he was a noble and faithful soul, and suffered much in the cause of the Popes, to whom, from Innocent II. to Alexander III., he dedicated many of his works, which may be read ap. *P. L.*, tt. 193, 194. Copious extracts from those of them which treat of investiture and the other burning controversies of his time have been edited by Sackur, ap. *Mon. Germ. Libell.*, iii. pp. 130–525.

In connection with the second crusade mention will be made of Odo de Diogilo (*Eudes de Deuil*). He succeeded Suger as abbot of St. Denis (1151), and sent to that great man what he wrote concerning the Crusade, in which he took part as the secretary and chaplain of Louis VII., the Young (*De Ludovici VII. profectione in Orientem*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 185, p. 1205 ff. *Cf.* Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, part i., p. 228 ff., Paris, 1829). Odo (†1162) unfortunately closes his valuable production about June 1148.

Though John of Salisbury examined the *register* of Eugenius III.[1] (*cf. Hist. Pontif.*, c. 11), it is no longer extant. Migne has, however, collected 592 of his letters, and has printed after them 26 letters of others to him (ap. *P. L.*, t. 180). Many of his letters display the motto: "Fac mecum Domine signum in bono," and are signed by him as "Bishop of the Catholic Church." In the first half of this century the papal chancellary reckoned the beginning of the new year from different dates. During the reign of Eugenius III. and his two immediate successors, the new year was supposed to commence on Ladyday (March 25), so that a bull of his which *we* should assign to February 1152 would be found to be actually dated February 1151. With one or two of his immediate predecessors, and with one or two of his immediate successors after Hadrian IV., we find in use for the beginning of the year both our ordinary date (January 1) and the era of Florence (*stylus Florentinus*), *i.e.*, March 25.

Works.—* Sainati, G., *Vita del b. Eugenio III.*,[2] Monza, 1874. The *Geschichte des Lebens des P. Eugenius III.*, by Dr. M. Jocham,

[1] It is also cited by Alexander III., *cf.* Jaffé, 11,702, and was examined by Giraldus Cambrensis, Op. i. 398, *R. S.*

[2] * *S. Rituum congreg. Confirmat. cultus ab immemor. tempore præstiti servo Dei Eug. III.*, Rome, 1872, small folio.

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Augsburg, 1873, is a very short biography of Eugenius of no particular importance. Many works have been written on Arnold of Brescia. We will only cite two of the better ones: *Arnauld de Brescia et les Romains du XII^e siècle*, by V. Clavel, Paris, 1868; and *Arnaldo da Brescia e la rivoluzione del XII secolo*, by G. de Castro, Livorno, 1875.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

EMPERORS AND KINGS OF THE ROMANS.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
Conrad III., 1138–1152.	Manuel I. (Comnenus), 1143–1180.	Stephen, 1135–1154.	Louis VII., the Young, 1137–1180.
Frederick I., Barbarossa, 1152–1190.			

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Portrait of Eugenius III., probably from an authentic original.
It shows the Cistercian cowl.
(From the Bollandists.)

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CHAPTER I.

EUGENIUS III. HIS EARLY YEARS, AND HIS RELATIONS AS POPE WITH ROME DOWN TO HIS DEATH IN 1153. ARNOLD OF BRESCIA. "DE CONSIDERATIONE."

Family of Eugenius.

THE heir of the spiritual authority of Lucius II., as well as of his local difficulties and troubles, was Bernard Paganelli, whose father was lord of Montemagno, not far from Camajore, in the territory of Lucca. The noble birth of Eugenius has been called in question on account of the way in which St. Bernard speaks of his lowliness.[1] But the saint seems only to refer to his having been, as a monk, "of low estate *in the house of the Lord*" when he was called to the supreme pontificate, and himself appears to hint that he was, as far as the world is concerned, of good family.[2] A gloss on the chronicle of Otto of Frising points in the same direction,[3] and Bertini, from later but no doubt reliable sources, has satisfactorily proved what has just been stated regarding the family of Eugenius.[4]

His early career.

Of whatever rank in life were the parents of the future Pope Eugenius III., it is certain that he occupied

[1] *De considerat.*, ii. 5.

[2] *Ib.*, ii. 9, n. 18, "Nec modo quid natus, sed et qualis natus, oportet attendas; . . . Tolle proinde nunc *hæreditaria hæc perizomata* ab initio maledicta." It is obvious that this passage is susceptible of another meaning.

[3] The gloss on *Chron.*, vii. 31 (p. 332, ed. Pertz) speaks of Bernard's becoming a monk of Clairvaux "omnibus mundanis pro Christo spretis."

[4] *Osservazioni intorno alla patria . . . del . . . Eugenio III.*, *Dissertazione Accad.*, 1822. Boso simply says of him: "Natione Tuscus, patria Pisanus."

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the important ecclesiastical position of *vicedominus* of the church of Pisa,[1] and that, "despising for the sake of Christ all that the world had to offer," he became a monk of Clairvaux.[2] When Innocent II. began his work for the moral and material improvement of Rome,[3] he begged St. Bernard to send him some monks to take possession of the restored monastery of St. Anastasius "apud Aquas-Salvias." In charge of the brethren thereupon sent by St. Bernard came Bernard, the future Pope. Under his careful guidance the monastery flourished exceedingly, and, as the native Italians flocked to it, Bernard was soon in command of a large community. The good he was doing reached the ears of St. Bernard, who wrote to tell the monks how much he longed to see them, and what joy it gave him "to receive the good report concerning you which has come to me from my very dear brother and co-abbot, the venerable Bernard, your abbot. I congratulate you much on the satisfaction which is given to him by your love for the discipline and rule of the Order." And how severe the spirit of that discipline was may be estimated from what the saint goes on to say. The neighbourhood in which this monastery stands is most malarious, and it is only comparatively recently that, by planting the eucalyptus tree all round their buildings, the monks have been able to live in them. Evidently, even in

[1] The gloss just cited: "Primum vicedominus Pisanus." *Cf.* Ernald, *Vita Bernardi*, ii. 7, n. 48. The duty of the *vicedominus* (*vidame* in French) seems to have been "to act as the deputy of the bishop in hearing causes and suits." He was a kind of "vicar-general." In Rome the Pope's *vicedominus* was guardian of the Lateran Palace. The first one known to history was Ampliatus in the reign of Pope Vigilius. *Cf. L. P.*, i. p. 297, and Renazzi, *Notizie storiche degli Vicedomini*, p. 10, Rome, 1784.

[2] *Ib.* It seems also that he then changed his name of Peter to Bernard. *Cf.* Bertini, *l.c.*, p. 117.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 55 ff.

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the days of St. Bernard, it was fever-stricken, and his poor monks, a prey to malaria, seem to have been not unnaturally wishful to have frequent recourse to medical advice and treatment. "But," continues St. Bernard in his letter to them, "there is one thing, indeed, which your venerable father asks me about, which I can in nowise approve. . . . I know, indeed, that the district in which you live is unhealthy, and that many of you labour under infirmities. . . . I sympathise, therefore, really and truly with your infirmities of body; but what is much more to be feared and avoided is infirmity of soul. And it is not only not in agreement with your vow as religious to have recourse to medicines for the body, but it is really not conducive to health.[1] It is certainly permitted to poor religious to make use sometimes of simples of little value, and this is frequently done. But to purchase drugs, to call in mediciners, and to take their potions and remedies, this is neither becoming to the rigour of our vow, nor befits the honour and purity of our Order."[2]

St. Bernard had originally decided to send his namesake into Italy at the request not of Pope Innocent, but of Atenulf, abbot of Farfa.[3] Innocent, however, as we have seen, prevailed upon the saint to put his monks under his control. But the Pope had seemingly no place ready to receive them, and, as we can judge from a letter which the new abbot, though he was "but dust and ashes," addressed to him "in the bitterness of his soul," they had at first much to suffer from want of resources.[4] Bernard felt very keenly his separation from his saintly spiritual father, whose sweet company imparted such joy to his monks.

[1] The saint evidently means excessive use of medicines. *Cf.* what follows in the text, and Mabillon's note to this letter, vol. ii. p. 884.

[2] Ep. Bern., 345, an. 1140.

[3] *Cf.* Geoffrey's *Life* of St. Bernard; *i.e.*, *Vita Bern.*, iii. 7, n. 24.

[4] Ep. 343 among the letters of St. Bernard.

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"As often as I recall that day of misery and calamity on which I was torn from your consoling bosom," he wrote to St. Bernard, "I am more inclined to weep than to write anything. . . . Woe is me! I have lost sight of the pattern on which I tried to fashion myself, the mirror of what I ought to be, the light of my eyes! No longer does that sweet voice sound in my ears, nor that kindly and pleasant face which used to blush at my faults appear before my eyes. . . . Why did you set me as a leader and teacher of others, and a chief over your people? Was it my career in the world? But that was foul (*fetida*). Was it my life in the cloister? But that was lukewarm and backward."[1] Such was the lowly monk who was to be elected to rule the Church of God.

Abbot Bernard is elected Pope.

On the death of Pope Lucius, the cardinal-bishops and priests betook themselves to the monastery of St. Cæsarius *in Palatio*, in order that they might be under the protection of the Frangipani. "Fearing the senators and the Roman people," they would appear to have proceeded expeditiously with the work of electing a new Pope; and, to the surprise of all, unanimously elected Bernard, abbot of St. Anastasius.[2] When Abbot Bernard, who took the name of Eugenius, wrote that he was elected against his will, there was as little reason to doubt his assertion as when he wrote that his election came to him as a complete surprise.[3]

The astonishment of St. Bernard.

Quite as much surprised was his former spiritual father St. Bernard, and, full of that rather incredulous astonishment which men always feel when one whom they have instructed and guided is suddenly placed over them, he manifested his feelings very plainly to "all the cardinals and bishops of the curia." "May God forgive you what you have done," he wrote. . . . "You have again involved

[1] Ep. 344 among the letters of St. Bernard.
[2] Boso. *Cf.* ep. 1 Eugen. [3] Ep. 1.

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in cares and thrown amongst crowds a man who had fled from both. . . . Did he leave Pisa only that he should be taken to Rome? Did he who shrank from being the second in command in one church, require the supreme command over the whole Church? . . . Was there no wise and experienced man amongst you more fitted for such things? It certainly seems absurd that a man humble and ragged should be taken to preside over kings, to rule bishops, to dispose of kingdoms and empires. Is it ridiculous or miraculous?" . . . He knew, indeed, that God sometimes calls the lowly to rule, as he called David. "But I fear for my son," he continued, "who is of a delicate nature. . . . It is to be feared that he will not execute the offices of his apostleship with the dignity that is fitting." The saint concluded by exhorting the cardinals to help Eugenius to bear the crushing load they had placed upon him.[1]

Soon after he wrote to Eugenius himself, "to my lord. For I dare not call you any longer my son. . . . If you will let me say so, I begot you in one sense through the Gospel. What, then, is my hope and joy, and crown of rejoicing? Is it not you before God? A wise son is the glory of his father (Prov. x. 1). But henceforward you will not be called a son; . . . my son Bernard . . . has been promoted to my Father Eugenius. . . . If Christ has sent you," continued the saint with holy liberty, "you will feel that you have come not to be ministered unto, but to minister; and to minister not only of your substance, but of your life itself. . . . Therefore, having such confidence in you as she seems to have had for a long time in none of your predecessors, the whole assembly of the saints everywhere rejoices. . . . I rejoiced (too), but in the very moment of my rejoicing fear and trembling came upon me. . . . I look at

[1] Ep. 237.

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the height of your dignity, and I see the mouth of the abyss that lies beneath you. . . . The place where you are standing is the place of the Prince of the Apostles. . . . It is the place of him whom the Lord made lord of his house. . . . And if you should turn aside from the way of the Lord, recollect that he was buried in the same place that he may be for a testimony against you. . . . Who will grant me to see, before I die, the Church of God as in the days of old when the Apostles let down their nets for a draught, not of silver and gold, but of souls." In conclusion, Bernard would have the Pope think of death in all that he does, and, from the short reigns of his predecessors, realise the short space in which he has to rule.[1]

Eugenius did not wait to receive letters of congratulation from his former spiritual father before he sent him expressions of his goodwill and his apostolic benediction. "When I heard this," replied the saint, "my spirit lived again, and, giving thanks to God, I fell prone upon my face, and I and your brethren rendered homage to you upon the earth."[2]

Eugenius displays unlooked-for qualities.

In the midst of the general satisfaction caused by the elevation of the saintly abbot to the headship of the Church,[3] many seemed to have shared the misgivings entertained by St. Bernard. They wondered whether a ragged rustic straight from the plough,[4] as St. Bernard described his disciple, was, after all, a suitable person to place on the throne of Peter. But we are assured by the same writer who tells us of these doubtings that God bestowed upon him such wisdom, eloquence, generosity,

[1] Ep. 238.

[2] Ep. Bern., 467. Throughout his pontificate Eugenius manifested affectionate interest in his Order. *Cf.* ep. Bern., 273.

[3] "De tam sancta promotione universa exultavit Ecclesia." Boso.

[4] Ep. Bern., 273.

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love of justice, and elegance of manners, that his deeds and reputation surpassed those of many of his predecessors.[1]

Eugenius takes possession of the Lateran, but cannot be consecrated in St. Peter's.

Meanwhile, over the coarse garment which Eugenius continued to wear to the end of his life,[2] were placed the robes of flowered silk, and of cloth of gold adorned with gems, and the red cope which were at this time the insignia of the Pope. Then mounting on a white horse, and with the *flabelli* or great fans of peacocks' feathers[3] waving over his head, surrounded by soldiers and attendants who made a way for him through the crowd,[4] the new Pontiff went to take possession of the Lateran. With his enthronisation there the peaceful portion of his election came to an abrupt termination. His prompt election had some-

[1] Boso. *Cf.* Ernald, *Vit. S. Bern.*, ii. 8, n. 50. "Mirantur omnes in tanta altitudine humilitatem immobilem, et in tam excellenti culmine propositi sancti permanere virtutem; ut altitudini sociata humilitas pro officio exterius splendeat, et pro virtute nequaquam interius inanescat. . . . Intus monachi habitum retinens, extra se pontificem et moribus et vestibus exhibebat." He proved himself also a patron of learning, and caused the works of St. John Damascene to be translated into Latin from the original Greek. Rob. de Monte, *Chron.*, an. 1151 *sub fin.*

[2] Ernald, *ib.* "Adhærebat carni ejus lanea tunica, et diebus ac noctibus cuculla vestitus sic ibat, et sic cubabat." Not merely in his raiment, but in other ways did Eugenius continue to practise as Pope the personal mortification he had practised as a simple Cistercian monk. And so the author just cited tells us that the gorgeous coverlets of his bed served but to conceal the straw upon which he took his rest. "Segmentata ei circumferebantur pulvinaria. Lectus ejus palliis opertus cortina ambiebatur purpurea; sed si revolveres operimenta, invenires superjectis laneis complosa stramina et paleas conglobatas." *Ib.*

[3] Hildebert of Le Mans (ep. i. 2) writes to a friend, "Flabellum tibi misi, congruum scilicet propulsandis muscis instrumentum."

[4] With these details, taken from St. Bernard (*De consid.*, ii. 9, n. 8, and iv. 3, n. 6), *cf.* the *Ordo Romanus* of Canon Benedict, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78. The holy ascetic would allow Eugenius "to tolerate such pomp and glory to suit the time." But all times are alike in this respect. It has ever been thought right by the great majority of mankind that high dignity should be surrounded with suitable pomp.

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what disconcerted the new senators, but they now hastened to make it known that they would dispute his election unless he confirmed their usurped authority. Seeing that opposition to them was hopeless, Eugenius left the city by night (February 17), and with a few followers betook himself to Monticelli in the Sabina.

Is consecrated at Farfa.

Thence, with the cardinals who had fled from Rome to join him, he went to the monastery at Farfa, where he was duly consecrated[1] (February 18). Then by way of Narni, Orte, and Civita Castellana, he went to Viterbo, where he celebrated the feast of Easter, and remained for some eight months.

Armenians wish for reunion with Rome.

Whilst staying at Viterbo, and whilst the historian bishop, Otto of Frising, who tells us of the incident, was at his court, Eugenius received a remarkable deputation of Armenians. In this century, as indeed in most others, the Armenians were in a woeful condition. Whilst a fragment of them were forming a new kingdom in Cilicia, their ancient country was for the most part in the hands of the Seljukian Turks. What political misery was spared them by these barbarians was inflicted upon them by the Byzantines and by their own internal dissensions. To add to their troubles, they were torn by religious differences and by schisms. Since the council of Chalcedon (451) they had separated themselves from the Greek Church; and, rightly or wrongly,[2] had become suspected of being

[1] Otto Frising, vii. 31; Boso; *Anon. Chron. Cas.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, 1144, p. 65 or 142.

[2] As a whole the Armenians have never been monophysites. They misunderstood the decrees of Chalcedon, and the terms they themselves made use of to express the two natures of our Lord were misunderstood by others. Hence the suspicion that they were monophysites. See Dulaurier's preface, p. vi. f., to *Hist., dogmes, traditions et liturgie de l'église Arménienne*, Paris, 1855. The body of the book is the work of a learned Armenian, evidently not in communion with the see of Rome. *Cf.* Stubbs, *Lectures on the Study of Medieval*

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monophysites. At any rate, unceasing efforts were made by the Byzantines to subject them to their rule, both in the political and in the spiritual order. But the Armenians began at length again to turn to Rome.

"In the beginning of the patriarchate of Gregory II. (Vecaiaser or Martyrophilus) . . . a new age dawned on the Armenian Church."[1] He strove by every means in his power to draw closer the bonds of union with Rome, and entered into communication with St. Gregory VII. Though that great Pontiff wrote to him in order to learn whether when saying Mass the Armenians mixed a little water with the wine, whether they made the chrism from butter and not from balsam, and whether they honoured Dioscorus, who had been condemned by the council of Chalcedon,[2] he would appear to have been convinced of his orthodoxy, and to have sent him the pallium.[3] The union with Rome thus commenced by Gregory II. was strengthened by his immediate successors, and "lasted for several centuries."[4]

If Gregory VII. could write with truth in 1074 that "almost all the Armenians have fallen away from the faith," he could also write with truth that "almost all the Easterns are waiting for the faith of Peter to decide between their various opinions."[5] As we have just seen, he found by his own experience that such was actually the fact in the case of the Armenians themselves; and Eugenius III. also was to find it out in the case of the

and Modern Hist., Lect. VIII., "The Medieval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia," p. 179 ff., Oxford, 1887; Camich, *Hist. of Armenia*, translated by Avdall, Calcutta, 1827; S. Somal. *Quadro della storia letteraria di Armenia*, Venezia, 1829; Tournebize, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, p. 163 ff., Paris, 1911.

[1] *Historia doctrinæ catholicæ inter Armenos, etc.*, by A. Balgy, p. 28, Vienna, 1878.

[2] *Regist. Greg.*, viii. 1; *cf.* vii. 28, ed. Jaffé.

[3] Balgy, p. 29.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Regist.*, ii. 31.

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same long-suffering people. An embassy was sent to him by the second successor of the patriarch, or *Catholicus*,[1] Gregory II., viz., by Gregory III., Pahlavuni (1113–1167), who had himself been present at the council of Jerusalem (April 21, 1142) presided over by Alberic, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and had promised that certain matters in which the Armenians differed from the Latins should be amended.[2] After a toilsome journey of a year and six months, the deputies reached Viterbo, and were received by the Pope in the presence of Otto and many others in the *Old Hall*. After they had in the name of their church offered full submission to the Pope,[3] they told him that they differed from the Greeks in certain particulars with regard to the sacrifice of the Mass and other points. They neither used fermented bread[4] nor did they mix water with the wine like the

[1] Otto notes (vii. 32) that the Armenians themselves call their metropolitan "Catholicus or Universalis," on account of the "infinite number of bishops" he has under him.

[2] Will. of Tyre, *Hist.*, xv. 18. "Cui synodo interfuit maximus Armeniorum pontifex . . . et doctor eximius qui Catholicus dicitur," etc. *Cf.* Tournebize, *l.c.*, p. 237, for Armenian authorities on this point.

[3] "Eique (the Pope) ex parte illius ecclesiæ subjectionem omnimodam eum consalutando offerentes." *Ib.*

[4] In saying that the Armenians declared that they used *fermented* bread, the good bishop was certainly mistaken. "Ponunt (the Armenians) enim fermentatum panem sicut illi (the Greeks)." Like the Latins, the Armenians used unleavened bread. This is clear, *e.g.*, from the declarations of the synod of Rom-cla (1179), summoned by the *Catholicus* Gregory IV., Tela. The acts of the council are lost, but a list of "questions" is extant which had been drawn up to make the position of the Greek and Armenian churches clearer. In reply to the wish of the Greeks (n. 6, p. 290) that the Armenians should use leavened bread, and mix water with the wine in the chalice, the Armenians replied that the Greeks should rather conform to the rite of the Apostolic See of Peter and to theirs in the matter of the bread, and that they in turn would conform to the Greek rite with regard to the water. Hence they, on their side, asked the Greeks: "Ut sacrosanctum sacrificium *azymo* pane perficiatur juxta veram magnæ Romanorum ecclesiæ, atque nostræ traditionem"; n. 4, p. 292, ap. Balgy, *l.c.* He is quoting from C. Galanus, *Conc. Eccles. Arm.*, P. i. 351. Rom-cla

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Greeks, and they kept the feast of Christmas on the same day as the feast of the Epiphany. They were anxious for the decision of the Roman Church on these matters, and wanted to be instructed in the Roman ritual of the Mass.

For this purpose the Pope bade the Armenians assist at his Mass, and carefully to observe all that was done. This they did; and one of them, who was a bishop, afterwards declared before the whole papal court (*in plena curia*) that during one of the Pope's Masses he had seen two doves hovering over his head in the midst of a halo of light (November 18, 1145). Recognising this as miraculous, the bishop felt himself more than ever drawn towards the Roman Church.[1]

As we learn from the acts of the important council of Sis (1307), in lesser Armenia, Eugenius gave a letter for the *Catholicus* Gregory to the Armenian deputies in which he explained the points of Catholic doctrine on which their people needed enlightenment.[2] Though this letter appears to be now lost, it was evidently carefully preserved as a guide in doctrine by the Armenian Church from the twelfth century to the fourteenth.

This official recognition of the supremacy of the See of Peter on the part of the Armenian Church, witnessed by Otto of Frising, has been renewed at regular intervals ever since. And, despite the fact that, since the council of

(Roum-Kalé or Hromgla) was a fortress on the Euphrates wherein dwelt the Armenian patriarchs from 1147 to 1293. The word means "Roman fortress."

[1] "Deificum hoc esse cognoscens ac ad obedientiam Romanæ sedis amplius accensus, cunctis quæ viderat aperuit." Otto, *l.c.*

[2] Ap. Balgy, p. 309. The council of Sis, at which was present the Armenian monarch Leo II., professed itself in agreement "cum sancta et Catholica Ecclesia magna Romana aliisque verum profitentibus et orthodoxis ecclesiis J. Christi." *Ib.*, p. 310; or Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, i. 2014, Paris, 1740.

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Chalcedon, a very large number of the Armenians has always remained bitterly opposed to their brethren united with Rome, many of the greatest lights of the Armenian Church have followed the example of the *Catholicus*, St. Nerses, Clajensis (1167–1172), the brother and successor of Gregory III., and proclaimed "the Roman Pontiff the first of all the archbishops and the successor of the Apostle Peter."[1]

The bishop of Gabala.

Another interesting person whom Bishop Otto met on this same occasion was the Syrian bishop of the sea-coast town of Gabala.[2] He had come to Europe on public and private business. He had come to seek help for the Holy Land from the kings of France and of the Romans, and to appeal to the Pope against his metropolitan, the patriarch of Antioch, and against the mother of the prince of Antioch. They had denied him that share of the booty taken from the Saracens which, in accordance with ancient custom, he maintained was his due. As he had been the chief means of securing the dependence of Antioch on the see of Rome, he fully expected that the Pope would see

[1] See his letter to the Greek emperor Manuel, ap. his *Opera*, I. p. 202, ed. Venice, 1833. Nerses was a poet; and, in one of his best-known poems on the fall of Edessa, which was lost to the Christians about the time of the accession of Eugenius to the see of Rome, he showed what were his sentiments regarding the Roman see: "And thou, O Rome, mother of the cities, Illustrious and honourable! Thou the see of the great Peter, Prince of the Apostles! Thou church immovable, Built on the rock of Cephas, Invincible to the gates of hell, And seal of the guardian of the gates of heaven." *Cf.* an article in the *Dublin Review* (vii., 1839, pp. 333–356) for this and other similar quotations, and Tournebize, *l.c.*, p. 251 f.

[2] Otherwise Jabalah, Gibellum, or Gibellus Major of the crusades, and Zibel. It was to the north of Tripolis, and must not be confused with Jubail, the Greek Byblos, which is a short distance south of Tripolis, and is the modern Jebeil. Jubail was also known as Gebal, and as Giblet by the crusaders. *Cf.* Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 459, 464; and Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, p. 55 n.

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that he received his tithes. Whether his expectations were realised or not, Otto does not inform us. This bishop was also the first who brought to Europe an authentic notice of Prester John (Presbyter Johannes), about whom something will be said under the pontificate of Alexander III.[1]

Embassy from the Greek emperor, 1148-9.

To keep together the notices about envoys from the East who were accredited to Eugenius, we may here mention an embassy which the Greek emperor Manuel sent to him in 1148. The chief of the embassy was a learned and eloquent bishop whose name is not given. What was the direct object of his mission is not stated; but it may have been concerned with the question of reunion between the two churches, or with the misconduct of the Greeks in connection with the second crusade, or with the promise made by Conrad to give Italy as a dower to the Empress Irene.[2] Whatever may have been the immediate purpose of the bishop's mission, he at any rate spent a great deal of time in discussing those points of doctrine and practice regarding which the Greeks differed from the Latins, especially the subjects of the procession of the Holy Ghost and the azyms.

Anselm of Havelberg.

The writer on whom we are dependent for this item of information was Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, in Prussia.[3] He visited Eugenius at Tusculum in the March of 1149, and was told by him of the recent visit of the Greek bishop. No doubt the conversation between them turned on the Greek question, because Anselm had himself been an ambassador at Constantinople. He had been sent

[1] Otto, *l.c.*

[2] Muralt, *Chronog. Byz.*, 1148, n. 4, etc.

[3] In his prologue to his *Dialogues*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1139. On his return (1155) from another embassy he was made archbishop of Ravenna, "et ejusdem provinciæ *exarchatum* . . . a *principe* accepit." Otto of Frising, *Gesta Frid.*, ii. 27. This shows how the emperors disposed of the exarchate of Ravenna at this period.

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thither by the Emperor Lothaire to the Emperor Kalojoannes, as he calls him, *i.e.*, to John II., Comnenus (1118–1143). Whatever was the precise object of his embassy, it caused him to make some little stay in the imperial city (1135–1136), and he also spent no little time in holding conferences both in public and private, and before both Greeks and Latins, on the religious questions which divided the two peoples.[1]

His public disputations at Constantinople.

Of his public disputations the most important were two which he held with Nicetas, or Nechites as he calls him, whom he describes as the most learned archbishop of Nicomedia, and as the chief of the twelve professors (*didascalos*) who regulate the studies of the liberal arts and the Holy Scriptures, and take precedence over the other learned men, and whose decision on the questions referred to them is final.[2]

Nicetas was evidently the president of a body somewhat akin to the French Academy. The first discussion between them took place in the Pisan quarter near the famous Justinian Church of St. Irene (*Agie Irene, quæ lingua Latina Sanctæ Pacis nuncupatur*).[3] This church, which has never been converted into a mosque, is still the nearest to the Seraglio Point, and was separated by the old city wall from the still more famous Church of St. Sophia, in the apse of which the second disputation between the two bishops was held.[4] The discussion caused a great sensation in the city. The emperor, who was a keen inquirer into matters religious,[5] and the patriarch Nicholas were interested

[1] "Multas super hujusmodi doctrina et ritu collationes et quæstiones, modo in privatis, modo in publicis, tam Latinorum quam Græcorum conventibus habui." *Ib.*

[2] *Ib.* *Cf.* the prologue of the second book, *sub fin.*

[3] *Dialogi*, ii. 1.

[4] *Ib.*, iii. 1.

[5] "Avidus explorator et diligens inquisitor diversarum religionum." *Ib.*, i. 10.

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in it, and it was very numerously attended, among others by three learned Westerns, who were thoroughly skilled in both Greek and Latin. One of the three, an Italian, Moses by name, who was most highly esteemed by both parties, was elected as interpreter.[1] The presence of *Silentiarii* was a guarantee of order during the disputation, and that of notaries secured that the arguments used should not be lost to posterity.

If no great good came from the discussion, it was at any rate conducted with the greatest courtesy, and with no little skill. Certainly the views of Nicetas on the religious positions of Rome and Constantinople were neither so crude nor so brusquely expressed as were those of his contemporary the princess-historian, Anna Comnena (†1148), whose ideas no doubt represent those of the average well-informed person of the imperial city. "The Latins," wrote this strong-minded lady, "both say and believe that (the Pope) is the first of the patriarchs (*ἀρχιερεύς*), and that he is set over the whole world. This is part of their insolence; for when the *imperium* (*τῶν σκήπτρων*) was transferred to our royal city, there was transferred also, along with the Senate and the whole civil administration, the whole ecclesiastical régime (*ἡ τῶν θρόνων ἀρχιερατικὴ τάξις*). And the divine emperors gave the primacy (*τὰ πρεσβεῖα*) to the throne of Constantinople, and the council of Chalcedon especially raised that throne to the highest elevation, and subjected to it all the dioceses of the world."[2]

The chief matters on which the two churches were at variance were closely debated, but Anselm laid most stress on the effective primacy of the Roman Pontiff, to which, he said, we must submit "not only with true humility but

[1] *Ib.*, ii. 1.
[2] Alexiad, i. 13.

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also from necessity of salvation."[1] He pointed out that the Roman Church was so specially founded on a firm rock that it might never be shaken by any wind of heretical doctrine;[2] that the Roman pontiffs are the head of the Church on earth; and that the primacy of the Roman Church is that of a monarchy, and not that of the first of a triumvirate (Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria), as his adversary was prepared to admit.[3]

Nicetas, on the other hand, contended that, while the Greeks did not "differ in faith from the Roman Church," they could not be expected to accept the decisions of councils over which the Pope presided, but at which they had not been present. Moreover, the Roman Church, "to which we do not deny the primacy of honour," going out of its province, split up the empire (*monarchiam*), and by so doing divided the churches of the East and West. "With you," concluded the Greek, "do I venerate the Roman Church, but with you I do not follow it in everything."[4] The debate, however, came to a most amicable conclusion by both desiring the summoning of a general council by the Pope, so that "both Greeks and Latins might be made one people under one Lord Jesus Christ, having one faith, one baptism, and one ritual."[5]

When Eugenius heard of this important discussion which the bishop had held, he commanded him to put it down in writing, and Anselm's *Dialogues*, addressed to the Pope, is the combined result of this order, "which," he says, "he dared not disobey," and of what he could recollect of the whole affair. No doubt it was in connection with these

[1] Apostolica auctoritas "cui semper obtemperandum est, non tantum devota humilitate, verum etiam æternæ salutis necessitate." Prologue.

[2] Prologue to the second book.

[3] An outline of the discussion may be read in Ceillier, *Hist. des auteurs eccléS.*, xiv. 413 ff., Paris, 1863.

[4] *Dialog.*, iii. 8.

[5] *Ib.*, iii. 22; *cf.* ii. 27.

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Greek disputations that Eugenius caused to be made that translation of St. John Damascene's work (*De fide orthodoxa*), to which attention has already been called.

Excesses of the Romans, 1145.

Meanwhile in Rome the new régime, which was much more of a *tyranny* than a republic, was demonstrating by its deeds of what stuff it was made. Under the *Patricius* Jordan Pierleone the wildest excesses were indulged in. The prefectship was abolished, and all the nobility were called upon to submit to the Patricius. The fortified dwellings of such of them as refused submission were sacked and levelled to the ground, as were the splendid palaces of the cardinals and the houses of the clergy.[1] Not content with this, "the Roman people" fortified St. Peter's, maltreated and plundered the pilgrims, and in some cases even put to death those who would not surrender their property to them. The licentious conduct in which they indulged in the city they repeated in its neighbourhood.[2]

Eugenius restores order and returns to Rome, Dec. 1145.

Finding that his own mild words and paternal admonitions were as little able to influence the rioters as those of St. Bernard,[3] and as the excommunication of Jordan, Eugenius drew the sword. With the aid of the people of Tivoli, and of his friends within the city, he put such pressure on the senators that they were glad to receive him into their midst. Accordingly, in the last month of the year (December 19 or 20, 1145) he was received by the people on his entry into Rome with every demonstration of joy. They kissed his feet and his face, they strewed branches

[1] "Non solum quorundam illustrium laicorum turres sed et cardinalium et clericorum domus subruentes, prædam immensam diripiunt." Otto, *Chron.*, vii. 31. *Cf.* his *Gesta Frid.*, ii. 28. "Ut non solum nobilium Romanorum seu cardinalium domus et splendida palatia, verum etiam quedam de cardinalibus reverendæ personæ inhoneste, sauciatis quibusdam, a furenti plebe tractarentur." *Cf.* Boso and ep. Bernardi, 243.

[2] *Ib.* [3] Ep. Bern., 243.

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of trees in his way, and they sang: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." The Roman militia with their banners marched before him, while the notaries and the civil authorities (*judices*) walked behind him. The Jews too took part in the general rejoicing, "carrying a copy of the Pentateuch on their shoulders."[1]

Agreement with the senators; but further trouble.

The conditions on which Eugenius had returned to the city were these: The office of *Patricius* was to be abolished, and that of prefect restored, and the senators were to hold their power of the Pope.[2] But the troubles of Eugenius were only beginning. The Romans' ancient jealousy of the Tivolese revived when they reflected that it was largely through their action that they had had to come to terms with the Pope. They accordingly ceaselessly urged the Pope to lead them against Tivoli. This, of course, he refused to do; but, to escape their importunities, he had to abandon the Lateran, and weary, as he said, of his life, to retire to the Trastevere (1146),[3] which was not included in the commune of Rome.

The constitution of the new commune, 1145.

From this date (1145) till the middle of the thirteenth century, at least, the principal feature of the new commune was the Senate, which had its seat on the Capitol, and in which were vested the different functions of a state, the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, the right of declaring war or peace, and the power of coining money.[4]

[1] Boso. *Cf.* Otto, *l.c.*

[2] "Senatores vero ex ejus auctoritate tenerent." Otto, *l.c.*, vii. 34.

[3] Otto, *ib.* *Cf.* Gerhoh, *Comment. in psal. 65*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. 493. He compares the conduct of the Roman people towards the Pope to that of Jezabel. *Cf. ib.*, p. 296; and his ep. 17, ap. *P. L.*, t. 193.

[4] A deed of the year 1160 is thus inscribed: "Nos senatores a reverendo atque magnifico populo Romano pro pace infra Urbem et extra manutenenda et singulis sua justitia tribuenda in novo consistorio senatus *annuatim* in Capitolio constituti." *Tabularium S. Praxedis*, ed. Fedele, n. 28, ap. *Archivio Rom. di storia patria*, 1905, p. 53. The document is a decision in favour of the canons of S. Prassede in

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At any rate such were the powers gradually claimed and often exercised by the senators. Its decisions and decrees (*statuta*), however, had to be ratified by the consent of the people, summoned to the Capitol by the sound of bell and trumpet.[1] If the senators were in need of special enlightenment on any subject, they sought for advice from the *consilium urbis*. This deliberative assembly sat in the Church of S. Maria *in Ara Cœli*, and was composed of the more important men in the city, who were convoked in such numbers as the gravity of the case to be submitted to them required.[2]

During the first half century of their existence the number of the senators varied. As a rule there were rather over fifty;[3] and they were elected annually by the people, seemingly in the month of November.[4] But in the last decade of the twelfth century their number was occasionally reduced to one or two, and after the year 1204 the number of two was never exceeded. Whilst the Senate was composed of a comparatively large number of members, a fourth or fifth of their number formed a kind of executive council. They were the *senatores consiliarii* or *senatores consiliatores*.

The Senate naturally had its permanent officials, such as clerks and secretaries, of whom the chief was the chancellor

a dispute with those of S. Croce about some lands, and is said to have been "given in the 16th year of the restoration of the Senate . . . Capitolio in curia senatus."

[1] *Cf. Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, i. p. 404, n. 126; *Registres de Grégoire IX.*, ed. Auvray, ii. 3032–3–5–6.

[2] *Cf.* a letter of Alexander IV. (April 3, 1260, ap. Potthast, *Regesta*, 17,826) to the senators and "*consilio Urbis*." The registers of Gregory IX. contain frequent mention of the *consiliarii Urbis* (i. 2021, 3042).

[3] *Cf.* a document, ap. Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 405.

[4] On the November *renewal* of the Senate see, *e.g.*, John of Salisbury, ep. 261, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199. He speaks of "innovationem senatorum, qui in kalendis Novembribus urbis regimen accepturi sunt," etc.

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or scribe of the Senate (*scriba senatus*), and, certainly in the thirteenth century, *vestararii*, *assectatores*, *justitiarii*, *executores*, *mandatarii*, a *judex palatinus*, etc. The exact nature of the duties performed by some of these officials is not certain. But while such functionaries as the *assectatores* and *justitiarii* were doubtless employed in putting the decrees of the Senate into execution, the *mandatarii* and the *preco* (herald) were engaged in making them known.

By the terms of the treaty which, as we have seen, Eugenius made with the Senate (1145), the senators were to receive their investiture from the Pope. On the other hand, the Pope had to give as well as to take. He had to pay the salaries of the senators and of their officials, as well as to contribute to the general expenses of the city.[1]

From the time when the Senate first came to power they found that much of the authority which they wished to arrogate to themselves was already in the hands of the prefect. This papal official[2] not only had control of the *police*, *i.e.*, was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the city and neighbourhood, but also, as the chief criminal judge, had the power of life and death. Hence, as we have seen, the first republican outbreak resulted in the abolition of the office of prefect;[3] and the first care of Eugenius when he came to terms with the Senate was to

[1] In 1149 the senators declared that they would only restore to the Pope his *regalia* which they had seized on the conditions named in the text, viz., if "ecclesia salarium senatoribus provideret et portaret onera civitatis, si ex ea vellet emolumenta perciperet." John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pont.*, c. 27. A few years later (1152) the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa swore to take the Pope's part against the Romans, to subject them to him as they had been before, and to restore his *regalia* to him. *Cf.* the treaty of Constance, ap. Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 375.

[2] *Cf.* John of Salisbury, *l.c.*

[3] The emperors, too, when at enmity with the Popes, and when they had control over the city, made it a point to have the prefects dependent upon themselves; but when they again came to terms with the Popes, they resigned to them their rightful power of nominating the prefects.

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I.

II.

III.

IV.

Denarii of Provins, used by the Roman Senate in the second half of the twelfth century.

I. Count Theobald II. (1125-1152).
II. Count Henry I. (1152-1180) or C. Henry II. (1180-1197).
III. Type of the Senatorial Denarius of Provins in use from about 1184 to the end of the century.
IV. A Provins' Denarius of Charles I. of Anjou (1265-1285).

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insist on its restoration. By degrees, however, the Senate possessed itself of the rights of the prefect as of all other powers in the city. This fresh acquisition of authority seems to have been helped forward under Innocent III., when the office of prefect is said to have become hereditary in the family of the lords of Vico. Ceasing in this way to be dependent upon the Popes, they are alleged to have gone over to the party of the emperor. In any case, in their gradual acquirement of all administrative authority in the city, the Senate got possession in the thirteenth century of the powers of the prefect.

Another of the rights of the sovereign, viz., that of coining money, seems to have been very promptly claimed by the senators; but when they first began to exercise that right is not clear. Certainly no coins of the Popes are known between those of Paschal II. and Benedict XI.,[1] though Gregorovius is of opinion that the Popes continued to mint money after the establishment of the Senate.[2] To judge from the treaty between Pope Clement III. and the senators (1188), it appears that the Senate had really coined money before that year, as the treaty restores that right to the Pope.[3] The various cartularies connected with the

[1] Boniface VIII., however, struck coins for the county of Venaissin (in the neighbourhood of Avignon), which the Popes had obtained from Raymond of Toulouse in 1228. *Cf.* Cinagli, *Monete de' Papi*, p. 27.

[2] *Rome*, iv., pt. ii. p. 499 n. He found *solidi papæ* distinguished from *denarii senatus* in certain documents, ap. Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses O.S.B.*, iv. n. 53, n. 98.

[3] The *concordia*, ap. Fabre, *Liber Cens.*, i. 373. "Ad presens reddimus vobis senatum et urbem, ac *monetam*." Even with this surrender, they required that a third part of the coins struck should be made over to them. Capobianchi, *Le monete del Senato Romano* (1184–1439), p. 419 (*cf.* p. 440), ap. *Archivio Rom. di storia patria*, vol. xviii. (1895), assigns "about the year 1184" as the date when the "denarius of Provins" was replaced in Rome by the "denarius of Provins of the Senate," and he notes that the senatorial denarius "of Provins" was four per cent. lighter than the old denarius of Provins.

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city of Rome which have been already printed, begin to mention the senatorial money in the course of the last twenty years of the twelfth century. There is constant reference in them, both before and after that period, to the money of Pavia, and of Provins in Champagne, and more occasional allusion to that of Lucca. The first time, however, that the cartularies make mention "solidorum provisinorum senatus" is in the year 1188.[1]

[1] On April 3, 1188, the monks of St. Gregory's on the Celian sold some property for a leper hospital for 39 solidi of the denarii (*provisini*) of the Senate "et pro pensione 3 denarios Senatus vel quales melius loco Senatus currerint, *si Senatus exciderit*"; ap. *Annali Camaldolesi*, app. al tom. iv. pp. 167–8, cited by Capobianchi, *l.c.*, p. 440 f. The first reference to money "senatus" occurs in (*a*) *Tabularium S. Mariæ Novæ*, ed. Fedele, under the year 1196, ap. *Archivio Rom. di storia patria*, xxvi. (1903), p. 111; (*b*) *Le carte dell' archivio Liberiano*, ed. Ferri, n. 23, an. 1193, ap. *ib.*, xxvii. (1904), p. 456; (*c*) *Tabular. S. Praxedis*, ed. Fedele, n. 45, an. 1200, ap. *ib.*, xxviii. (1905), p. 82; (*d*) *Cartario di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. Schiaparelli, in or after the year 1196, ap. *ib.*, xxv. (1902), p. 353; (*e*) *Regesto di Sant' Alessio all' Aventino*, ed. Monaci, n. 23, an. 1193, ap. *ib.* xxvii. (1904), p. 397. The *provinois* was "the product of the mint of Provins, which attained a wide celebrity and acceptance down to the thirteenth century, although it was not distinguished either by originality or excellence" (p. 226). "A corrupt type of the Roman interregnal money, struck in the name of the Senate, was executed at *Provins* in the second half of the twelfth century" (p. 146), Hazlitt, *The Coinage of the European Continent*, London, 1893. The original *provinois*, it is said, displayed a portrait, but through a want of knowledge or of skill on the part of the engraver, the rude portrait degenerated towards the second half of the twelfth century into what became known as the *peigne* or comb. The early senatorial *provinois* showed the *peigne champagnois* (*ib.*, p. 146). Capobianchi, however, no doubt more accurately (*l.c.*, p. 426 f.), connects the Champagne *comb* with the cloth manufacture for which Provins was famous, and points out that the senatorial money was struck in Rome. According to Halphen (p. 82), the earliest of the Senate's coins had on the obverse a figure of *Rome* seated on a throne with the legend "+ Roma caput mundi," and on the reverse a lion passant with the legend "+ Senatus P.Q.R." But in this Halphen would seem to be mistaken. The *provinois* of the Senate was an imitation of the *provinois* of the counts of Champagne, and showed on the one side the *comb* of Champagne, surrounded by an S (*senatus*)

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During this period, then, of papal history of which we are now writing, we shall see the curious phenomenon of the Popes steadily becoming more and more widely recognised not only as the religious but as the political suzerains of Europe, and at the very same time less and less influential in Rome.[1] While abroad reverence for their position will be seen making them the arbitrators between princes and the protectors of kingdoms, at home they will be found, while struggling for their old rights over Rome, often exiles from the capital, or making concessions to their turbulent and fickle people by means of petty treaties with senators of the city.

Among the men who visited Pope Eugenius at Viterbo, and who, from one cause or another, may be called interesting, was Arnold of Brescia,[2] a man in whose favour those spoke most loudly who came into the least contact with him. Such a man, for instance, as our countryman Walter Map, who, it would seem, was born about the time when Arnold was being condemned for heresy, and when his words were inflaming some of the worst passions of men, maintains that by birth Arnold was among the great, by his learning among the greatest, and by his religion

Arnold of Brescia.

between a crescent and a star, and also by the words, "Roma caput mundi"; and on the other side a cross flanked with four emblems, one between each pair of its arms, viz. two spangles and what were once alpha and omega. The inscription running round the edge on this side was "Senatus P.Q.R." The type spoken of by Halphen did not come into existence till the second half of the thirteenth century, when the Senate began to strike large silver coins of pure silver known as *grossos*, or, from the figure of Rome on them, as *romanìnos*; or, later on, from the Popes who coined them, as *giulios*, *paolos*, etc.

[1] What we have here said about the Senate of Rome we have drawn from Halphen, *L'administration de Rome au moyen âge*, Paris, 1907, after carefully verifying such references as we have taken from his excellent work.

[2] "Brixia quem genuit, coluit, nimiumque secuta est." *Gesta di Fed. I.*, v. 761.

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among the very first; that he only allowed himself such food and raiment as strict necessity required; that in his teaching he sought not himself but God; and that he made himself admired and beloved by all.[1] Another of our countrymen, however, John of Salisbury, knowing more about the revolutionary doctrines of Arnold, has limned a more exact portrait of the disturber. While agreeing with Map that Arnold was clever, learned, and eloquent, and both practised and preached contempt of the world, he assures us that it was common talk that he was seditious, and that wherever he went he always turned the people against the clergy. John might even have added further that wherever he went he also stirred up the lower clergy against the higher.[2]

It is quite likely that in the early stages of his career Arnold may have aimed at promoting reform in a legitimate manner through the ordinary channels, and that either the difficulty or slowness of motion along those lines, or unjust persecution or both, may have gradually driven him into that reckless fanaticism which he certainly displayed in the later period of his life.

At any rate, whilst he was acting as superior of a number of canons regular at Brescia,[3] he so excited the people against their bishop during his temporary absence in Rome,

[1] *De Nugis curialium*, i. 24, ed. Wright, Camden Soc., 1850. Even St. Bernard, who calls Arnold's doctrine poison, allows that "his discourse was as sweet as honey" (ep. 196), and wishes (ep. 195) that his "doctrine was as sound as his life was strict." *Cf.* Otto of Frising, *De gest. Fred.*, i. 28, ii. 28; *Chron.*, vii. 20; *Gesta di Fed. I.*, v. 760 ff.

[2] Ep. 311, July 15, 1148. Eugenius says: "Quidam capellani . . . Arnaldi sequantur (sequuntur) errorem, et cardinalibus atque archepresbyteris suis obedientiam et reverentiam promittere et exhibere debitam contradicant (contradicunt)."

[3] John, *Hist. Pont.*, c. 31, says he was a priest, and a canon regular, and calls him *abbas*.

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that they would scarcely receive him back again. For this and for certain heretical teachings he was condemned by Innocent II.,[1] and ordered to be banished from Italy. He then betook himself to France, became a disciple of Peter Abelard,[2] and, after the latter had retired to Cluny, assumed the rôle of professor himself. Into the ears of the riff-raff of the people, who alone formed his classes,[3] he poured abuse of the episcopacy. He did not even spare St. Bernard, but said he was full of vainglory, and envied all those who had any reputation for learning or piety if they were not of his school.[4] Such a man, like yon "lean and hungry Cassius," was dangerous, and St. Bernard very wisely induced the king to expel him from France. As Innocent II., who had condemned him, was dead, Arnold returned to Italy, and with humble promises of obedience presented himself before Eugenius at Viterbo (September 1145). Unfortunately the Pope believed his promises, accepted his oaths, and imposed a penance upon him which he undertook to perform by fasting and by praying in the holy places in Rome.[5]

Arnold secretly preaches against the clergy in Rome, 1146.

No sooner, however, did he reach the city than he began, secretly at first, to spread about his anti-clerical doctrines,

[1] In 1139 at the council of Lateran. *Cf.* ep. Bernard., 195: "He grievously stirred up and troubled the land in which he was born, and he was therefore accused before the Pope of grievous schism, and was banished from his native soil, and also compelled to swear that he would not return except by the Pope's permission." *Cf.* Otto, *De gest. F.*, *l.c.*

[2] *Cf.* ep. Bernardi, 189: Arnold and Peter "have come together. . . . In their life and habits they have the form of godliness, but they deny its power, and they thereby deceive many."

[3] "Sed auditores non habuit nisi pauperes et qui ostiatim elemosinas publice mendicabant, unde cum magistro vitam transigerent." John, *l.c.*

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.* "Et quidem de servanda obediencia solempne præstitit juramentum."

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and soon gained a following among a people ever as ready to strike as to fawn upon their clergy. It was the manifestation of the discontent caused by Arnold's teachings that drove Eugenius to take refuge in the Trastevere (January 1146).[1]

As the year 1146 advanced, the position of the Pope in Rome did not improve. It was in vain that he looked for help from Conrad. To no purpose had St. Bernard urged Conrad to defend the papal authority against the rebellious Romans; to no purpose had he reminded him that "Rome was at once the Apostolic See and the capital of the Empire," and that, if it was not for the good of the Church, it was certainly not to the king's honour that he should "hold in his hands a broken sceptre." He assured Conrad that victory would be his. "The haughtiness and arrogance of the Romans are greater than their courage. . . . Would any emperor or king, no matter how great and powerful, presume to offer such an insult at once to the Empire and to the priesthood? But this accursed and turbulent people, which knows not how to measure its strength, or to think of its object, or to consider the issue, has in its folly had the audacity to attempt this great sacrilege."[2] But Conrad had Hungary and Welf, duke of Bavaria, to deal with, and could not leave Germany.

Eugenius goes to France, and Arnold preaches openly against his authority, 1147-1155.

Throughout the whole of the year 1146 the subversive teachings of Arnold continued to spread. And when, in response to a request from Louis VII., Eugenius left the Trastevere to go to France in order to arrange for another crusade[3] (January 1147), the fanatical preacher, ignoring prudence and despising his oaths, openly incited the people

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 143.

[2] Ep. 244.

[3] Boso, "Vocatus a Ludovico rege Francorum, Galliarum partes intravit."

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against the Pope and the higher clergy.[1] He formed a sect of Puritans, who by a show of virtue (*honestatis speciem*) and austerity of life pleased the people, and drew their chief support from pious women.[2] Moreover, he never lost an opportunity of appealing to the people in the true spirit of a demagogue, either on the Capitoline hill or some other public place. Not only did he urge the rebuilding of the Capitol, and the restoration of the senatorial and equestrian orders on the model of antiquity, but he proclaimed that the Pope ought not to have any voice in the management of the city, and that neither clerics nor monks ought to possess any property, nor bishops hold *regalia*.[3] The college (*conventus*) of cardinals, he said, was a den of thieves, and the Pope a man of blood who was always filling his own coffers at the expense of those of others. Hence as he was not a real follower of the apostles, no obedience was to be rendered to him.

While such doctrines were being openly and freely poured into the ears of an unstable people during the time (about a year and a half) that Eugenius was absent in France, they continued to draw their practical conclusions

[1] *Hist. Pont.*, *l.c.* "Dum sub optentu penitentis Rome degeret, Urbem sibi conciliavit, et, d. papa agente in Galliis, liberius prædicans, hominum sectam fecit, que adhuc dicitur heresis Lumbardorum."

[2] "Sed maximum apud religiosas feminas inveniebant subsidium." *Ib.*

[3] Otto, *De gest. Frid.*, ii. 28; Gunther, *Ligurinus*:

> ". . . Summi quoque præsulis acta
> Mordebat graviter, parcebat denique nulli,
> Veraque miscebat falsis multisque placebat.
> . . . . . .
> Hoc Europa quidem fuerat jam dogmate plena."
> *Gesta di Feder. I.*, v. 771 ff.

The poet's account of Arnold's teaching is exactly that of his prose contemporaries, and he adds concerning it:

> "Quod multis hominum sola novitate placebat."

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from them. Whenever opportunity offered, they plundered the houses of the higher clergy and of the nobility,[1] and did not even hesitate to wound certain of the cardinals.[2]

Eugenius returns to Italy, May 1148.

Not wishing to stay in France, where rumours were arriving of the failure of the second Crusade which he had so keenly advocated,[3] Eugenius returned to Italy. Before long he made his way to Brescia, which city, glad to have got rid of its firebrand Arnold,[4] received the Pope willingly. Thence he wrote to the Roman clergy bidding them avoid Arnold as a schismatic, and warning any of them who should, in future, venture to follow his teaching that they would be deprived of their offices and benefices.[5] Soon after, when he reached Viterbo (December 1148), where he again took up his abode for some time, he entered into negotiations with the Romans. But they came to nothing, as the people would not give up Arnold.[6]

Appeals to the sword, 1149.

As words had failed, Eugenius at length sadly resolved to try arms. Proceeding to Tusculum (April 1149), he procured help from its counts and from the Normans, and, placing these auxiliaries under the command of Cardinal Guido, surnamed Puella, harassed the Romans, at greater

[1] *Cf.* the letter of the Romans to King Conrad: "Fortitudines, *i.e.*, turres et domos potentum Urbis . . . cepimus." Ap. Otto, *De gest. Frid.*, i. 29. *Cf.* also another of their letters to Conrad, ap. Martène et Durand, *Amplis. Coll.*, ep. 212.

[2] "Verum etiam quedam de cardinalibus reverendæ personæ inhoneste, sauciatis quibusdam, a furenti plebe tractarentur." Otto, *De gest. F.*, ii. 28.

[3] *Hist. Pontif.*, c. 18, although, adds John, "in Francia posset esse tutissimus."

[4] "Doctrinam tui luxisti, Brixia, civis (Arnold)." *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 806. *Cf.* St. Bernard, ep. 196, "Arnold . . . whose head is that of a dove, his tail a scorpion's; whom Brescia cast forth, . . . France rejected, Germany abominates," etc.

[5] Ep. 311, July 15.

[6] *Hist. Pontif.*, c. 31 *init.*

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expense to himself than with injury to them.[1] The Romans, however, began to be afraid of the consequences of their repeated acts of violence. The counts of Tusculum were still powerful, and the then head of the family, Ptolemy II., had married one of the Pierleoni, who were still in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, which the people had not been able to take. Eugenius, in union with these nobles and with the Normans, might soon be in a position to punish them severely for their rebellion. They accordingly formed the extraordinary resolution of appealing to Conrad, who had ingloriously returned from the second Crusade in this year (1149). They sent him letter after letter in which they asked his assistance, pretending that all they had done had been in his interests. One of these letters, which has not inaptly been described as "a masterpiece of inconsequence, vanity, and ignorance,"[2] was addressed: "To the most excellent and renowned Conrad, lord of the city and the whole world, by the grace of God king of the Romans, ever Augustus, the Senate and people of Rome wish health and a happy and glorious rule over the Roman Empire." The writers point out that in several letters they have made him acquainted with their loyalty and what they have done for the exaltation of his imperial crown, and they express their astonishment that their letters have not been answered. They tell him of the restoration of the Senate and of the crushing of most of the enemies of the Roman Empire, which they are striving to bring back under him to the condition in which it was when Constantine and Justinian, through the vigour of the

[1] *Ib.*, c. 27. *Cf.* Sigeberti *Chron.*, *contin. Præmonstrat.*, 1149, "Papa . . . in Italiam regressus, cum Romanis vario eventu confligit." See also *Anon. Chron. Cas.*, 1148, and Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, sub an. 1145.

[2] Clavel, *Arnauld*, p. 164.

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Senate and the Roman people, held the whole world in their hands. However, the Pope and the sons of Pierleone, with the exception of Jordan, who is our standard-bearer, and other allies of the king of Sicily, are hindering their work for the king. Hence they would have him come without delay, and, removing all clerical obstacles, reside in the city "which is the capital of the world," and rule all Italy and Germany more powerfully than any of his predecessors. They have repaired and fortified the Milvian bridge, so that his army could enter Rome without being in danger from the castle of St. Angelo. In fine, they inform Conrad that in return for the money which the Pope had received from the king of Sicily, he had granted that prince the use of the crozier, ring, dalmatic, mitre, and sandals, and the right of receiving only such legates in his country as he may choose to request.[1]

According to Otto, Conrad paid no attention to these puerilities, but, on the contrary, gave a favourable hearing to the legates of the Pope.

Eugenius re-enters Rome, 1149.

Whilst the headquarters of Eugenius were still at Tusculum, he was visited by Louis VII. on his return from the unfortunate second Crusade. On account of the great honour which Louis had shown him whilst he was in France, Eugenius gave him a most glorious reception and bestowed many splendid presents upon him[2] (October). This visit no doubt helped the prestige of the Pope. On the other hand, the Romans were weary of the war, saw no hope of help from Conrad, and were, as usual, in want of

[1] Ep. ap. Otto, *Gesta F.*, i. 29. Other similar letters will be found ap. Martène et Durand, *Amplis. collect.*, epp, 212, 213, or ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Corbeiensia*, p. 332 ff. From a letter of Wibald to Cardinal Guido (ep. 252, an. 1150, ap. *ib.*, p. 378), it appears that these letters reached Conrad in Jan. 1150.

[2] Romuald of Salerno, sub an. 1145; *Anon. Cas.*, 1148; Luchaire, *Les Actes de Louis VII.*, no. 242.

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money. They came to terms with the Pope.[1] They agreed to take the usual oath of fidelity to him on condition of receiving a *beneficium* of five hundred pounds. The oath was to be taken by four *of the people* from each region (*contrada*), who were to swear to respect the persons and property of the Church. The *regalia*, with the exception of the right to build citadels in Reiano (Riano?[2]) and Maliano (Magliano on the Flaminian Way), were to be restored, as was also the money which had been taken from the churches or the *regalia*, except that which had been expended on the war (1149). All the fortresses outside the walls were also to be surrendered, though special arrangements were made regarding the *munitiones S. Gregorii* (thought to be the fortress *Statuario*) and the *turris de Sclaceis* (supposed to be the Torre di Selce).[3] Finally, the Pope, "as father and lord," was to do all he could to promote peace between the city and the surrounding districts.

On these conditions Eugenius made another triumphant entry into his city (November 1149).[4]

Correspondence with Germany.

Although at this moment Arnold of Brescia does not

[1] Romuald and *Anon. Cas.*, *ll.cc.* According to the expressive phrase of John of Salisbury, "They sniffed the gold and silver which he had received in France." *Hist. Pont.*, c. 21. The terms of peace are given in Watterich, ii. 312.

[2] Off the Via Flaminia, near the ancient city of Capena. Magliano, otherwise Maglian Sabina, is not far from Borghetto.

[3] On the left-hand side of the Via Appia antica (as you leave Rome), near the sixth milestone, is "the mass of masonry sometimes called Casale Rotondo or Cotta's Tomb." Less than half a mile from this is the Torre di Selce, "erected upon a huge unknown tomb." Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i. 428 f. The fortress *Statuario* would appear to be in the same neighbourhood. No doubt, then, there is question of important strongholds both on the great north road and on the great south road.

[4] "A magnatibus honorifice susceptus." *Hist. Pont.*, c. 21. *Cf.* Boso.

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appear to have been engaged in openly opposing the papal authority in Rome, Eugenius was not altogether at ease. He realised what it meant for him that the dangerous demagogue should still be at large, and he was anxious about the attitude of Conrad. Since that prince had returned from the Holy Land, he had not sent any direct communication to Rome regarding the papal letters and envoys which he had received. It was, moreover, rumoured that, to the detriment of the Roman Church, he had formed an alliance with the Greek Emperor Manuel against Roger of Sicily,[1] and Eugenius could not but feel that what was done against his ally would be done against himself. Though, therefore, the Pope affected not to believe the report, he was glad when he heard that no such alliance had been contracted, and that Abbot Wibald had removed from Conrad's mind the ill-feeling against the Roman Church with which Greek bombast and insubordination had temporarily inspired him.[2] Nor was Eugenius less glad when he received sympathetic letters from Conrad in one of which the king assured him that he was distressed at whatever was done against his venerable person, or against what belonged to the Holy Roman Church, "of which we are the defenders appointed by God."[3] In another letter Conrad explained that a long

[1] *Cf.* ep. of Card. Guido inter epp. Wibaldi, p. 316, ed. Jaffé, *Mon. Corb.* "Nec ista (the rumours) ideo scribimus, quod d. papa vel nos de præfati regis constantia dubitare debeamus, set quia nostri desiderii est ut affectum, quem tempore colloquii, quod cum eo habuimus, erga sedem apostolicam verbis ostendit, ita etiam abundantius operis exhibitione demonstret." The letters of Wibald may also be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 189; we, however, cite from Jaffé's ed. On the negotiations that caused these reports, see Chalandon, *La domin. Normand.*, ii. p. 145 ff.

[2] Wibaldi ep. 252 to Guido: "Homini (Conrad) non federe contracto set fastu et inobedientia Grecorum aliquantulum corrupto . . . assidua collocutione humilitatis et obedientiæ bonum instillavimus."

[3] Ep. Conrad., no. 242 inter epp. Wib., an. 1150.

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and serious illness, which had ensued on his return from the Crusade,[1] had completely prevented him from attending to serious business, and till then from sending to the Pope such envoys and letters as he had wished.[2]

Wibald of Corbey.

The great ally of Eugenius at this time in the court of the German king was Wibald of Corbey, one of those remarkable Benedictine abbots who exercised during this age such enormous influence in the affairs of Europe. Wibald was to Conrad exactly what Suger was to Louis VI. and Louis VII. He was also sincerely devoted to the Papacy, and though Roger of Sicily was personally distasteful to him,[3] he would not sanction any action against him which would be directly injurious to the Pope.

In the midst of his difficulties, therefore, Eugenius was greatly encouraged by receiving from Wibald a letter full of expressions of devotion to himself, and informing him that the capture of Welf had removed the last obstacle in the way of Conrad's coming into Italy.[4]

Eugenius secures concessions from Roger of Sicily, 1150.

But "the Rome-journey" could not be arranged in a month or two, and meanwhile the Romans—that "race unaccustomed to peace, familiar with tumult; a race to this very day (it is St. Bernard who is speaking)[5] fierce and

[1] In yet another letter of Conrad to the Pope (*c.* April 20, 1150), we learn that the illness was of nearly six months' duration. Ep. no. 248, *ib.*

[2] Ep. no. 231, *ib.*, Feb. 1150.

[3] Ep. Wib. 246, April 1150, and *supra*, p. 53.

[4] Ep. Wib. 232. "Per quod (the capture of Welf) confidimus complanatas esse omnes difficultates, que videbantur obsistere ad introitum d. regis in Italiam." An. 1150, February.

[5] *De consid.*, iv. c. 2, n. 2. *Cf. ib.*, n. 4, where he says very bitterly but not without reason: "Even when the Romans profess to be your humble servants, they aim at being your masters. . . . They are wise to do evil, but they do not know how to do good. . . . Turbulent among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, barbarous to foreigners, they love no man and are loved of none. . . . These are they who cannot bear to be beneath, though they are not qualified to be at the

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intractable, who will never submit except when they have no power to resist"—these Romans again made life in the city unbearable for Eugenius. He accordingly once more left Rome (June 1150) and betook himself to the south of Italy to come to some understanding with King Roger of Sicily on ecclesiastical matters.[1] "For the king," says John of Salisbury, "after the manner of other tyrants, had reduced the Church in his territories to slavery, not suffering freedom of election to take place anywhere, but designating those beforehand who were to be chosen, thus disposing of ecclesiastical dignities as he did of the offices of the palace."[2] Furthermore, he would not allow papal legates to enter his kingdom unless they had been asked for by him, or had previously received his permission. Still, though, like William the Conqueror, he wished to have the Church completely under his own control, he was, also like William, free from the stain of simony, and appointed only good men.[3] Eugenius had, however, brought about a deadlock by refusing to allow the king's nominees to be consecrated. Accordingly, when Roger met the Pope near Ceprano, he undertook to allow freedom of election in the future, and not to interfere with the Pope's freedom of arranging (*liberam dispositionem*) the churches in his kingdom. He also promised to be at the service of the Apostolic See in its difficulties. But with all these concessions he could not obtain from Eugenius the confirmation of his position as king of the two Sicilies under

head. . . . They have no modesty in asking, and no shame in refusing. . . . They have taught their tongue to speak great things when there is but little doing. . . . They are the smoothest of flatterers, and the worst of backbiters."

[1] *Hist. Pont.*, c. 32. "Non ferens d. papa vexationem Romanorum, Anagniam profectus est." *Cf. Anon. Cas.*, 1149.

[2] *H. P., ib.*

[3] *Ib.*

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the suzerainty of the Pope.[1] Eugenius was too conscious of the enmity of Conrad towards Roger to commit himself to a close alliance with the Sicilian king.

Further difficulties with Roger and Arnold.

Although, whilst he stayed in Campania (June 1150–December 1152), Eugenius recovered several places which had been lost to the Roman Church during some of the outbreaks of the Romans,[2] and although his cause was publicly defended in learned disputations at Rome by Gerhoh of Reichersberg,[3] many things went against him. Without consulting him as his suzerain as he ought to have done,[4] Roger of Sicily associated his son William with him in the kingdom (April 5, 1151). Not unnaturally Eugenius was much annoyed at this, "but the wickedness of the times," says John of Salisbury, "prevented him from taking any action in the matter."

More serious was the state of affairs at Rome, in which his authority was reduced to a minimum, and in which all was confusion. Many of the people left the city, and the reports which were spread about everywhere of the disorders within its walls prevented travellers from visiting it. This we know from a quaint description of Rome written in Arabic by Abû Hâmid of Granada. When in

[1] "Supplicavit ut d. papa reciperet hominium suum et privilegia innovaret. Sed nec prece nec precio meruit exaudiri." *Ib.*

[2] "Recuperavit Terracinam, Setium, Normam et arcem Fumonis, que a dominio b. Petri jamdiu alienata fuerant," Boso. *Cf. Ann. Ceccan.*, 1150. Baronius (ad ann. 1153, no. 11) says that in the citadel of Terracina an inscription telling of this capture was to be read in his time. It is cited ap. *P. L.*, t. 180, p. 1007. "Regalia multa longo tempore amissa b. Petro restituit," etc.

[3] "Memini me cum fuissem in Urbe (1151 as is supposed) contra quendam Arnoldinum valenter literatum in palatio disputasse, et ipsa disputatio, monente p. Eugenio, reducta in scriptum . . . posita est in scrinio ipsius." *Liber de novitat.*, c. 11, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii.

[4] "Quod (the consecrating of his son as king) ideo de jure non licebat, quia totam Siciliam constat ad Romane ecclesie patrimonium pertinere." *Hist. Pont.*, c. 34.

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the year 1150, as he tells us, he was within a few days' journey of Rome, to which the stories of its greatness were attracting him, he was warned by those to whom he made known his intention of visiting the city, on no account to go near it, as its nobles were waging fierce war against one another, and the great king (*i.e.*, the Pope) was unable to subdue them. This king, notes our traveller, "is called the *Rahîm* (the Clement), which corresponds with the Moslem *Caliph*, and to his decisions all the Christians submit, obeying his commands."[1] The fighting in the city, where siege was being laid to the king's palaces, was so severe that Abû was assured that the people of the different regions had made various openings in the walls in order to effect their escape. It is more than likely that the tales which were poured into the ears of the inquiring Abû were not all strictly true, but there is no doubt that they were substantially accurate.

Conrad ready to come into Italy. His death, 1152.

Such being the condition of Rome, the satisfaction of Eugenius can be imagined when he received a letter from Conrad (after September 15, 1151), in which the king reaffirmed his readiness to promote the honour of the Church and of the Pope, and informed him that he had made his final arrangements for "the Italian expedition."[2] At the same time he sent his sole communication to the Roman people. His letter was addressed "to the prefect of the city (the papal official), to the consuls and the captains, and to the whole Roman people," and must have proved anything but reassuring to many of the said people. He

[1] C. Crispo-Moncada's Italian translation of Abû's *Descrizione di Roma*, p. 25; Palermo, 1906.

[2] Ep. 346, inter epp. Wib. *Cf.* ep. Wib. 343, and especially ep. 362 (*ib.*) of January 27, 1152, wherein Eugenius exhorts the German princes to rally round Conrad, and to accompany him on his expedition in force. This latter letter is ep. 484 of the letters of Eugenius; *cf.* ep. 395.

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notes that after his return from Jerusalem he had received various communications from them, and that, though their letters contained much that was impractical,[1] he thanked their writers for the expressions of goodwill towards himself which they contained. At their invitation he was about to come to Italy in order to reward the loyal and punish the rebellious. But the rebellious were able to draw their breath in peace for a while longer. Conrad died February 15, 1152, at Bamberg, where he was collecting his forces to enter Italy in the spring.

Frederick Barbarossa.

On his death-bed Conrad recommended as his successor not his very youthful son but his nephew Frederick, the young duke of Suabia.[2] His recommendation was followed; and on March 5 there was elected as their king, and as king of the Romans,[3] by all the German princes and by certain barons from Italy, one who has ever since retained the greatest hold on the imagination of the Germans, viz., the immortal Frederick Barbarossa,—immortal, if only because popular legend supposes him to be still sitting in the midst of "the gigantic mass of the Untersberg," ready to come forth and to deliver the Fatherland in the hour of its greatest need. He was the man for the moment, the man whose person and deeds were calculated to make a lasting impression on the minds of his people.

He was the man for the moment, because he was the link between the two parties which divided Germany;

[1] "Tantis rebus, quas perferebant, impares." Ep. 345, *ib.*

[2] He was about thirty.

[3] "Romani gloria regni
Nos penes est: quemcunque sibi Germania regem
Præficit, hunc dives submisso vertice Roma
Suscipit, et verso Tiberim regit ordine Rhenus."
Gunther, *Ligurinus*, i. v. 251 ff.

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between the North and the South ; between the Welf and the Waiblingen. "There were," writes the uncle of Barbarossa, the episcopal historian Otto, "in the Roman Empire . . . two renowned families, one that of the Henries of Waiblingen[1] (de Gueibalinga), the other that of the Welfs of Altorf. The one was wont to produce emperors, the other powerful dukes. These families, as is wont to happen among mighty men greedy of glory, were often jealous of each other, and often disturbed the peace of the state. But, as it is believed, by the will of God providing for the future peace of His people, it happened in the days of Henry V. that Duke Frederick, a member of the family which begets kings, took to wife the daughter of Henry, duke of Bavaria, a scion of the other family. The offspring of this union was Frederick (Barbarossa), and, the princes regarding not only the energy and valour of the said youth, but also the fact that, as sprung from both houses, he could, like a corner-stone, bind the two families together, chose him as their king, in the hope that, by the blessing of God, an end might be put to the serious and lasting strife which the two families waged against each other for their private advantage."[2] By his long and close friendship with his cousin Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, the head of the Welfs, Frederick was able, for many years at least, to keep that peace in Germany which had been expected of him.

But what impressed Barbarossa so deeply on the German mind was not so much his noble birth, which closely connected him with the great princes of Germany and with

[1] "Hohenstaufen and Waiblingen are neighbouring castles in Suabia." Poole's *Hist. Atlas*, map 35. Waiblingen is generally supposed to be the Italian Ghibelline, which, however, as a party name was rarely used outside Italy, and there apparently not till the thirteenth century. *Ib.*

[2] *De gest. Frid.*, ii. 2.

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the Royal house of England, as his personal qualities and the glamour of his warlike deeds. His appearance was very prepossessing, with his elegant and well-proportioned frame, fair skin, yellow curly hair, clear and keen eyes, well-shaped nose, bright and open face, and reddish beard which caused the Italians to give him his best-known name. Nor was his character, if we are to trust his panegyrists, conspicuously inferior to the outer man. He never forgot a name nor a face.[1] He was religious,[2] charitable, brave, simple, chaste, attentive to business, generally honourable, and, considering the methods of waging war universally practised in his day, perhaps not to be called wantonly cruel. Fond of reading history, he found no difficulty in understanding Latin, though he did not talk it readily.[3]

Of this their fair hero, who oft made Italy tremble from end to end, who fought against the unbelieving Moslems in his youth, and who died marching against them in his old age, the Germans have never been weary of talking. He has been to them, and to their popular history, what Richard of the Lion's heart or Harry of Agincourt has been to the English, and to the stories they love to hear.

Unfortunately, however, his views of the imperial prerogatives, fostered by many of the new race of Italian lawyers who were imbued with ideas of Byzantine absolut-

[1] So say his contemporaries, Burchard and Conrad, *Urspergensium Chron.*, p. 21, ed. Pertz.

[2] "Vir pietate vigens, nullique secundus in armis." *Gesta di Fed. I.*, v. 57. Acerbus Morena, who knew Frederick, speaks: "pulcre stature, recta et bene composita membra habens." *De reb. Laud.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 1115. *Cf.* Gunther, *Ligurinus*, i. v. 281 ff.

[3] Rahewin's continuation of Otto, iv. 86. *Cf.* Wibald, ep. 375. The Crusaders were naturally proud of him. See the description given of him, "when his hair was turning grey," as he appeared to the English (?) author who went with him on the third Crusade and wrote the *Itinerarium Ricardi I.* (i. c. 24).

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ism drawn from their studies of the Justinian Code, were to prove fatal to the peace of Italy and of the Church, to that peace for the sake of which alone, we are told, he waged war.[1] So generally known was his desire to restore the ancient sway of the Roman Empire, that "the kings of Spain, England, France, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary ever viewed his power with suspicion. So tactfully, however, did he attach them to himself, that whenever they sent envoys or letters to him they assured him that it was for him to command, and for them to obey."[2] To show how substantial was his power, Rahewin says that he forced Manuel, the basileus of Constantinople, to sign himself not "emperor of Rome," but "emperor of New Rome."[3]

Fired with the ambition of putting a curb on the world itself,[4] it will be readily conceived how little he would be disposed to brook opposition from an Italian city that aspired to almost complete independence of the Empire, or from a Church that would not be his obsequious handmaid. Yet, though he beat fiercely, not to say savagely, against these two rocks, he was destined in the end to have to recoil hopelessly broken from before them. Those who from a distance watched all this violence against the Church and against the Milanese and their allies, and who were not under the spell of his personality, took a very different view of Frederick from his panegyrists. They simply tell us of the "many evil deeds which he wrought,"[5]

[1] "Bellorum amator, sed ut per ea pax acquiratur." Rahewin, *ib.*

[2] *Ib.* The kings "quotiens ad eum litteras vel legatos miserint, sibi cedere auctoritatem imperandi, illis non deesse voluntatem obsequendi denuncient." *Cf.* Gunther, *Lig.*, i. v. 26 ff.:

> "Te populi, te regna timent; te solis ab ortu
> Solis ad occasum, submisso vertice cuncti
> Suspiciunt; dominumque simul, regemque fatentur."

[3] *L.c.*

[4] "Orbem frenatum virtute tua." Gunther, *l.c.*, v. 5–6.

[5] "Multa mala faciebat." *Chron.* Rob. de Monte, 1167.

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call him the head and front of the wicked,[1] and attribute to him the evils of the schism which for eighteen years harassed the Church in the days of Alexander III.[2]

Communications between Frederick and the Pope, 1152.

Frederick, destined, as our chroniclers note, to be "the great disturber of ecclesiastical peace," began his reign by informing Eugenius, to whom he offered "filial love and due reverence in the Lord," that he had been elected king, and intended to defend the Roman Church by carrying out what his predecessor had planned for the liberation of the Apostolic See (March 1152).[3] Wibald, however, informed Eugenius at the same time that, against the advice of the clergy, the lay nobles, "perchance from want of statesmanship," had advised the king not to undertake "the Rome-journey" at once, lest a rebellion might take place against his new authority. Besides, they had urged, it would more become his dignity if he waited till he was formally requested to come to his help by the Pope.[4]

Eugenius lost no time in replying to Frederick's letter. He congratulated him on his accession, and exhorted him to defend the Church, and to have a care for the widow and the orphan, and for all the people committed to his care.[5]

Further action by Arnold and his friends, 1152.

Meanwhile, Arnold and his friends were not idle. One of them, Wetzel by name, wrote to congratulate Frederick

[1] St. Thomas Becket, ep. 7, ed. Giles, i. 24. "Contrivit Dominus malleum impiorum Fredericum." *Cf.* ep. 59.

[2] Will. of Newbury, or Newburgh, *Hist.*, ii. 9,17 ; iii. 2. "Cursed be his (Frederick's) anger, for it was fierce; and his wrath, for it was cruel"; v. 13. William was born in Yorkshire, *c.* 1136, and seems to have died before 1208. His history has always been highly praised.

[3] Ep. 372, inter epp. Wib.

[4] Ep. 375, "Decere etiam, ut vocatus a vobis potius quam sponte sua veniret." *Cf.* ep. 396, wherein Wibald assures the Pope that Frederick's help will come, but expresses a wish that he could do without any human help: "Durum est enim eos servire quos tu in altissimo imperii culmine dignatus es collocare." Wibald could see what harm his imperious character might inflict on the Church.

[5] Ep. Eug. 504, May 17, Segni ; or inter epp. Wib. 382.

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on his accession to the throne, but regretted "that, owing to the advice of clerics and monks by whose teachings the sacred and the profane are confounded," he had not sought the confirmation of Rome, the mistress of the world, the mother of emperors, by whom alone all emperors have ever reigned. He then proceeded to decry the clerical possession of temporal power; to denounce the clergy themselves, by whom Frederick's predecessors, and till then Frederick himself, had been called to the Empire; and to stigmatise the Donation of Constantine as a fable which old women in Rome were capable of exposing.[1] Finally, this republican exhorts Frederick to come with his lawyers and with his Justinian Code, and to proclaim that "the will of the Prince has the force of law."[2]

Arnold's new constitution, 1152.

Whilst Wetzel, presumably one of Arnold's followers, was writing in this infatuated strain, his master was distracting the city with proposals for a new constitution. Writing to Wibald (September 20, 1152), Eugenius informed him that Arnold, unknown to the great ones of the city (*absque nobilium et maiorum scientia*), had banded together about two thousand men of the lower orders with whose aid it was his intention to create a hundred life senators, two consuls, and an emperor.[3]

Agreement between Frederick and the Pope, 1153. The Concordat of Constance.

Frederick, however, whom the new Republic had en-

[1] All this is just as absurd as the Donation which he was denouncing. Wetzel denied its authenticity, not because he was capable of proving its want of historical basis, but simply because it countenanced the temporal authority of the Pope. "Fabula heretica, in qua refertur, Constantinum Silvestro imperialia symoniace concessisse, in Urbe ita detecta est ut . . . mulierculæ . . . doctissimos super hoc concludant." Ep. 404, ap. epp. Wib.

[2] "Set . . . quod principi placuit legis habeat vigorem et quare, subinfert (viz., his authority, Julian the Apostate) cum populus ei et in eum omnem suum imperium et potestatem concessit." *Ib.* To the ruin of many in Italy, we shall see Barbarossa following Wetzel's advice about declaring that the Prince's will has the force of law.

[3] Ep. Eug. 403, inter epp. Wib., or ep. Eug. 524.

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deavoured to attract to its cause, taking no heed either of its words or of its deeds, concluded "a concordat (*concordia*) and convention" with the Pope.[1] By this document Frederick agreed not to make peace either with the Romans or with Sicily without the consent of the Pope, but to bring the former back to their old subjection. On his side Eugenius undertook to crown Frederick as emperor, and to support his authority to the best of his ability (*c.* February 1152). Both parties were, moreover, to oppose any aggressive action of the Greeks.

Eugenius again in Rome, 1152.

Meanwhile the Romans seeing that, despite all their efforts, they were making no progress with Frederick, entered into another agreement with the Pope, who made yet another triumphant entry into his capital (December 9, 1152).[2]

Death of Eugenius 1153.

No doubt the agreement into which Eugenius entered with the Romans involved a renewal of his recognition of the commune. But he found it so galling that he at once took steps to secure its undoing; and, knowing the ingrained venality of the Romans,[3] he employed a means that has always succeeded with them. He spent money freely, and won the people over to his side. This, at least, is the statement of Romuald of Salerno,[4] who adds that, but for his sudden death, the Pope would, with

[1] Ep. 407, inter epp. Wib. Among those who witnessed the deed for the Pope were Cardinal Roland, afterwards Alexander III., and Cardinal Octavian, afterwards his antipope, Victor IV. *Cf.* Watterich, ii. 319 f., and Theiner, *Cod. diplom. S. Sedis*, i. 15 f.

[2] Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 193; *Anon. Cas.*, 1152; Sigebert, *contin. Præmonstrat*, 1152; *Ann. Ceccanenses*, 1152.

[3] *Cf.* Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De invest. antichrist.*, i. 49, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii.

[4] *L.c.* "Adeo universum populum sibi beneficiis et eleemosynis alligavit, quod bene pro majori parte Urbem poterat pro sua voluntate disponere," etc. The assertion of Romuald is borne out by the letter of Hugo, bishop of Ostia, to the Cistercian chapter informing them of the death of Eugenius: "jam fere senatum annihilaverat." Ap. Watterich, ii. 321.

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their aid, have stripped the senators of their new authority. What success Eugenius might have achieved in this direction it is impossible to say, for he died on July 8, 1153, at Tivoli, to which he had retired about the beginning of the month. With every mark of respect, and amid great demonstrations of grief, "especially on the part of the widow and of the orphan," his body was brought back to Rome.

There, "quite contrary to the usual custom," the funeral obsequies were celebrated during two days with such veneration "that one would have believed that he who in death was so honoured on earth was already reigning in heaven."[1] The body of the deceased Pope was buried in St. Peter's in the oratory of Our Lady, beneath the tomb of Gregory III., and was laid to rest in a sarcophagus "made up from different stones"[2] taken, no doubt, from ancient classical sepulchres. It is not known whether the epitaph preserved by Alberic *Trium fontium* was really engraved on his tomb or not.

Hic habet Eugenius defunctus carne sepulchrum,
  Cui (al. quem) pia cum Christo vivere vita (al. cura) fuit.
Pisa virum genuit, quem Clarevallis alumnum
  Exhibuit, sacræ religionis opus.
Hinc ad Anastasii translatus martyris ædem,
  Ex abbate Pater summus in orbe fuit.
Eripuit solemne jubar mundique decorem
  Julius, octavam sole ferente diem.
Conceptum sacræ referebant Virginis anni
  Centum bis seni mille quaterque decem.

[1] The letter of Hugo, who begs his Cistercian brethren to pray for Eugenius that God may be merciful to him, and increase his crown of glory. *Cf.* Boso. Martène (*Amplis. col.*, vi. 1139, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 180) has edited an account by a contemporary Roman of miracles wrought at the tomb of Eugenius. *Cf.* Geoffrey's *vita prima* of St. Bernard. Speaking of Eugenius, he says: "cujus merita in ipsa cui insigniter præfuit, Urbe miraculis plurimis illustrata corruscant," l. v. c. 2, n. 16; ap. *P. L.*, t. 185, p. 361. *Cf.* the last note of this biography.

[2] So at least says Canon Mallius, who was present at the interment. Ap. *L. P.*, ii. 387.

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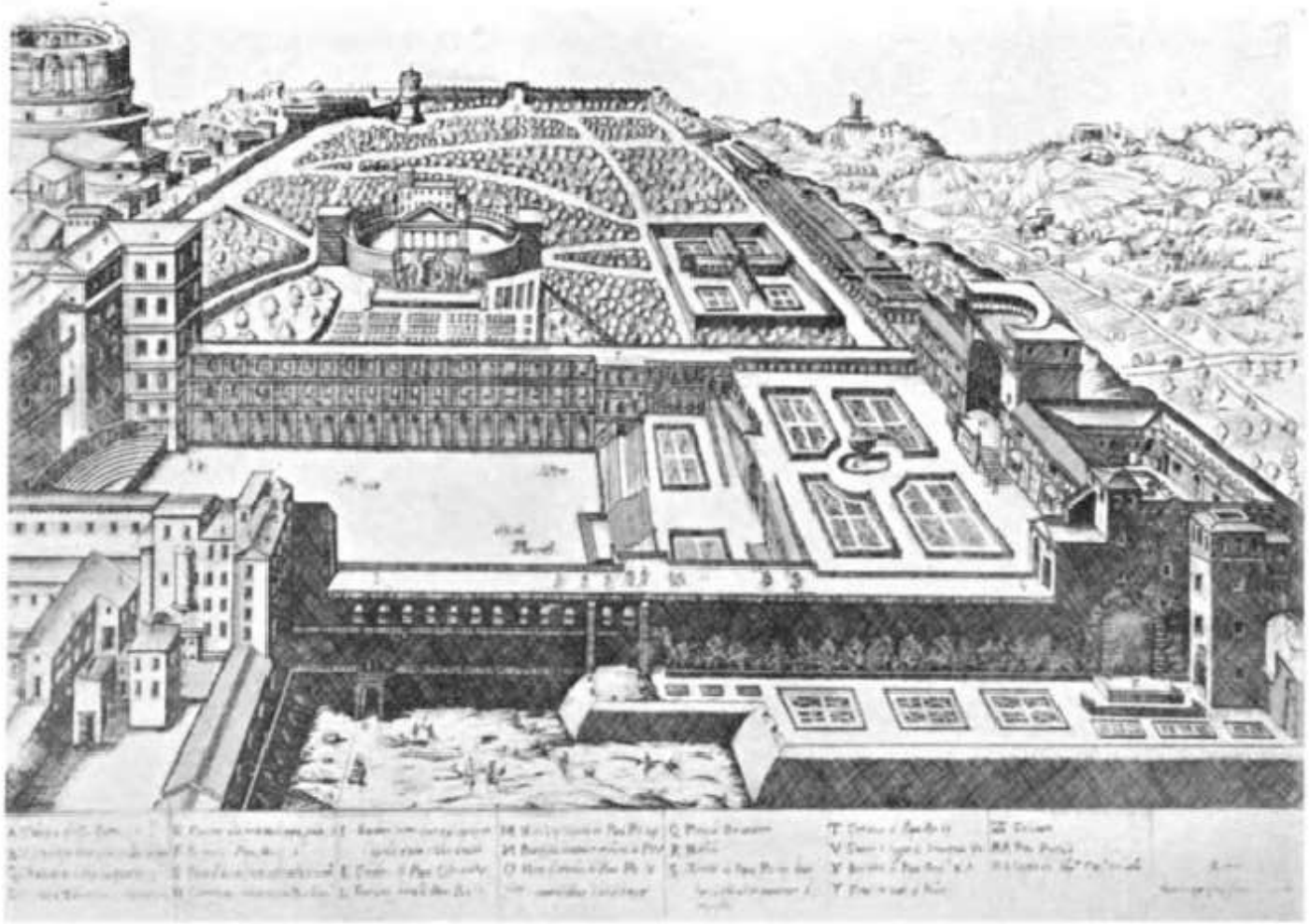

The Vatican Palace, showing the Gardens about 1579. (Ambrogio Brambilla.)
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The inscription,[1] which praises Eugenius as the world's glory, simply gives a brief sketch of his career and the date of his death.

The Vatican palace.

Before his last return to Rome, Eugenius had resided for over a year at Segni. It was no doubt during that period that he built the palace of which Boso speaks, but of which no trace seems now to remain. Fortunately, it is not necessary to say the same of another of his palaces; for the other one which he built[2] has developed into the actual residence of the Popes, viz., the Vatican palace. From time to time the Popes had taken up their abode on the Vatican hill, at least from the days of the great builder, Pope Symmachus, who erected an episcopal palace there.[3] But though the work of Eugenius was continued by Innocent III. and other Pontiffs, the Vatican palace did not become the regular home of the Popes till after the return from Avignon.[4]

Character of Eugenius.

The Pope whose death has just been recorded is highly praised by ancient and modern writers alike. Cardinal Hugo, who notified his death to the Cistercians, spoke of him as the glory of the Church, which he had restored to its high position, and as the father of justice.[5] In this latter connection the most severe censors of his time, John of Salisbury and Gerhoh of Reichersberg, are at one in asserting that he was completely free from the essentially Roman vice of avarice,[6] and most careful never to accept

[1] Ap. *L. P.*, *l.c.*, or Watterich, ii. 321.

[2] "Hic fecit unum palatium apud S. Petrum." Boso.

[3] "Episcopia in eodem loco dextra levaque fecit." *Vit. Symmach. L.P.*, i. 262.

[4] The learned and courteous head of the Vatican library, Padre Ehrle, informed me that he was collecting the materials for the history of the Vatican palace. When his work is done, it will be possible to give a full account of that most interesting structure.

[5] Ep., *l.c.*

[6] Gerhoh, *De invest. Antichrist.*, i. c. 49. "Sed hoc factum (the

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any present from a litigant. The former writer tells a story of a prior who had a case to bring before the Pope offering him some money, and begging him most respectfully to accept it. "What!" cried Eugenius, "you have scarcely entered the house than you try to corrupt its master." The holy Pontiff, continues John, called every gift offered whilst a suit was pending corruption.[1]

If the verdicts of Eugenius were never influenced by gold, they were nevertheless fated to be very frequently reversed by his successors. According to our observant countryman, this was a kind of judgment on him, because he himself had not been at all slow to alter the decisions of his predecessors. John assigns as the reason of his faulty judgments his habit of following his own opinion in preference to the legal advice given him by his canonists.[2] This he did because he was so suspicious that he hardly trusted anybody. Besides the usual cause of this habit of suspicion, viz., a certain weakness of character, there was another in the case of Eugenius. He was conscious, he used to say with a play upon words, of the weakness of his

settling of a case without the giving of money) quanto rarius illi urbi, tanto in sancto viro Eugenio præclarius et jure non parvi miraculi optinet dignitatem." *Cf.* St. Bernard, *De consid.*, iii. 3. "I know what tempting offers you have refused, and how deep your poverty was when you refused them." As an instance of the generosity of Eugenius we may cite his grant to the canons of St. Peter's of a fourth of the offerings made therein. Ep. 575.

[1] *Polycraticus*, v. 15. "Corruptionem namque vir sanctus credidit, quidquid offerebatur judici lite pendente"; but he adds (*ib.*, v. 17) that the more he rejected presents the more abundantly were they presented to him. And yet, as the author of the *Hist. Tornacenses* notes (iv. c. 5, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv.), "*ab omnibus* nobis nunciaretur avidus pecunie non esse."

[2] *Cf.* Gerhoh (*Liber de novitatibus*, c. 22, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii.), who rather praises this independent action of the Pope, which would seem to have so often caused him to give wrong decisions. Both these good men, St. Bernard and Gerhoh, appear to have been better able to put their fingers on abuses than to propound practical remedies for them.

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sides (*laterum suorum*), *i.e.*, of his counsellors, of those who were *de latere suo*.[1]

In reading John of Salisbury's all too short *Historia Pontificalis*, one cannot fail to be impressed with Eugenius's knowledge of human nature, and with the great personal influence with which his holiness endowed him. John gives two instances in which he reconciled husband and wife, bent upon divorce. Heedless of ideas of dignity, and of the fact that his mitre was rolling in the dust, he threw himself on one occasion at the feet of a count who had resolved to divorce his wife, and eloquently implored him, by the respect which he owed the Pope as his spiritual father, to lay aside all rancour against her, and with love to take her back, not so much because he was bound by the law so to do, as to show his faith, and his affection for his spouse. John, who tells us that he was a witness of this moving scene, which he recounts to the glory of God and to the great credit of the Pope, says that all present were deeply touched, and that the count, dissolved in tears, promised faithfully to obey the Pope's behests.[2] On some of these occasions our historian assures us that Eugenius himself, though naturally of an unemotional disposition, could not refrain from tears.

Wherever there was human misery, thither turned the heart of Eugenius. When the disorders of the tenth century

[1] *Hist. Pont.*, c. 21. As specimens of Eugenius's "weak ribs" we may name two legates he sent to Germany, Cardinals Jordan and Octavian of St. Cecily, who are denounced as avaricious by John of Salisbury (*utergue cupidus*), *Hist. Pont.*, c. 37.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 40. *Cf.* c. 29, where John tells of the tender arts which the Pope used to reconcile, for the time being at least, Louis VII. with his wife Eleanor, whom he loved passionately if not even foolishly—"eo quod reginam vehementer amabat (Louis) et fere puerili modo. Fecit eos in eodem lecto decumbere, quem de suo preciosissimis vestibus fecerat exornari, et singulis diebus illius morule familiari colloquio redintegrare studuit caritatem."

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had begun to abate, and people had opportunities of thinking of other matters besides war, the charitable ones among them, especially holy women, began towards the close of the eleventh century to pay particular attention to the then very numerous class affected by the horrible disease of leprosy. "Shunned by his associates, the leper took refuge with outlaws, who herded together, and lived in a state of filth, misery, and moral degradation terrible to recall."[1] But at the period just named the unfortunate lepers began to be gathered together in hospitals. By this means their isolation was effected, and by the thirteenth century the ravages of leprosy, which is certainly if but slowly contagious, were much diminished. One of the first of the Popes to take an interest in the lepers was Eugenius III. Three bulls of his are known which speak of them. In one of them he decrees that a certain chapel, monastery, and cemetery shall be appropriated to their exclusive use;[2] and in another, while taking a leper-house under his protection, he forbids tithes to be exacted from its afflicted inmates. Though Gerhoh of Reichersberg would not have any man bold enough to pass judgment on the successors of Peter, whether they are to be seen with him flashing the sword and walking on the waters, or trembling before servants of the High Priest and in danger of shipwreck, still he himself ventures to call Eugenius

[1] *Women under Monasticism*, p. 286 f. *Cf.* the whole of the section: "Women-Saints connected with Charity and Philanthropy," but modify a few of the statements therein contained from Lallemand, *Hist. de la Charité*, iii., 2me partie, "La lèpre et les léproseries du xe au xvie siècle"; Paris, 1906. We may note with Lallemand that the Crusades did *not* introduce leprosy into Europe. It was there long before them. *Cf.* the Lombard laws about it; *Leges Rotharis*, n. 176, ap. *R. I. SS.*, i. pt. ii. p. 28.

[2] Ep. 14. *Cf.* Jaffé, 8938, 9066. Innocent II. (1131) took a house of lepers under his protection, Jaffé, 74, 85. On this subject may be also consulted, C. Creighton, *Hist. of Epidemics in England*, vol. i.

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another Elias, and to grieve that he does not see an Eliseus following him.[1]

What doubtless greatly helped Eugenius to keep up a high idea of the duties and obligations of his state was his reading of a book (*De consideratione*) which St. Bernard wrote for him in 1149. One of the greatest of the Popes, St. Gregory I., had long ago written his ever-famous *Regula Pastoralis* (On the Pastoral Care) for the guidance of bishops and clergy. Now one of the holiest of the clergy ventures to write a book for the instruction of Popes, "which may edify, delight, or console." *De consideratione*, 1149-1152.

The gist of the little work is to impress upon the Pope that he must not allow his "accursed occupations" so to drag him at their heels that he has not time for reflection, for *consideration* of the needs of his own soul. He would have more time were it not for the number of litigants who come to him, "men full of ambition and avarice, simoniacal, sacrilegious, keepers of concubines, incestuous, all sorts of human monsters," who come in the hope of obtaining or retaining by his apostolical authority ecclesiastical distinctions. Many of the cases brought before him ought to be left to the kings and princes of the earth, or to other persons, and the rest ought to be decided summarily without the intervention of canon-lawyers.[2] Every effort should be made to reform the ecclesiastical bar, especially in the matter of bribery.

[1] *Comment. in Ps. 65*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. 493. Gregorovius, writing of this Pope, calls him "unassuming but astute," and observes that "the stoic virtues of monasticism accompanied him through his stormy career, and invested him with that power of passive resistance which has always remained the most effectual weapon of the Popes." *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 523.

[2] We have already seen what trouble was caused by the attempts of Eugenius to follow this advice, which does more credit to the saint's zeal than to his sober judgment. His axiom (l. i. c. 10) that "nothing so easily brings virtue to light as a brief and simple narrative" may

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The Pope is reminded that he is set on high because he has been "appointed watchman over all," but that he is placed there not so much to command as to do what the times require, to use the hoe rather than the sceptre. Beyond dispute he is "the chief of ministers," but he should be supreme in other respects; supreme, for instance, in humility, than which "no gem in all his gorgeous attire shines with a clearer and purer light."

Again, while acknowledging that, as Pope, he has charge of "the Universal Church throughout the world, the sum of all the other churches put together," [1] the writer reminds him that by nature he is but a man, "poor, wretched, pitiable," and that he must examine himself to see how he does his duty. He is warned against the relaxing results of prosperity, against idleness, and against being a respecter of persons. On the other hand, he is not to aim at lording it over other men. Hence if, on account of "the singular primacy" of the Apostolic See, it is right that appeal should be made to the Pope from all over the world,[2] he should see that the right is not abused, and should punish unjust appeals. "How long will you pretend not to notice, or will really not heed, the murmurs of the whole earth? . . . How long will it be before your consideration awakes to this gigantic confusing and abusing of appeals?" [3]

be true enough in itself, but many a rogue is better capable of giving "a brief and simple narrative" than an honest man. It is generally recognised that the ends of justice are not best served by only having one lawyer in a country and hanging him.

[1] II. c. 8.

[2] III. 2, n. 10. "I allow that appeals are a great blessing to the world at large . . . they are to be cherished and upheld, but only those which are demanded of necessity."

[3] *Ib.*, n. 7.

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In connection with the lording it over men, the Pope is told that ecclesiastical rank is to be respected, and is then asked if he does uphold "the gradations of honour and dignity." "Abbots are exempted from their bishops, bishops from archbishops, archbishops from patriarchs or primates. Does this look well?"[1] The constant doing of these things may show that the Pope has the authority to do them, but not that he has a keen sense of justice.

Above all things, the Pope ought to enforce the apostolic decrees, and ought to begin by compelling those immediately around him to observe them. It ought not to be that the churches are robbed in order that largess may be scattered broadcast to satisfy the avarice of the greedy Romans.[2] If the Pope, by spiritual means, can do no good to the Romans, he should not himself employ the material sword against them, but should leave that to the emperor, and go forth from the city. Then, concluded the saintly writer, "I think you will not regret your exile if you exchange Rome for the world."[3]

Next, passing from the Romans in general to those in the immediate *entourage* of the Pope, St. Bernard pointed out that those around the Pontiff should be chosen with the greatest care, as their acts reflected on their master. Some of them were not what they ought to be; and so the Pope is urged to look once more at the doings of those who were about his person. He should see to it that his household was a model one.

The fifth and last book of this famous work treated of "the things which are above the Pope" but which imperatively called for his deep consideration, viz., God

[1] III. 4, n. 14.

[2] *Cf.* Gerhoh, *De investig. Antichrist.*, i. 49.

[3] IV. 3, n. 8. For this analysis of the *De consid.*, we have used the excellent translation of G. Lewis, Oxford, 1908.

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and His angels. After thoughts have been presented by which some knowledge of God may be obtained, the treatise finished with these words: "But perhaps He is more worthily sought through prayer than through dialectics, and more easily found. With this let us end the book—but not our search for Him."

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CHAPTER II.

EUGENIUS IN FRANCE. THE SECOND CRUSADE. HILDEGARD. GILBERT DE LA PORRÉE.

The Latins of the Holy Land turn to the West for help.

EVIL times were falling on the Latin kingdoms of the Holy Land. Fulk, king of Jerusalem, died a year or two before Eugenius became Pope, viz., in November 1143 or 1144, leaving his crown to a mere youth, Baldwin III.; while on the other hand a powerful Moslem ruler, 'Imad ed-din Zanki, had arisen in the kingdom of Mosul and Aleppo. This redoubtable warrior, by his capture of Edessa (December 25, 1144), had endangered the safety of all the Latin kingdoms of Syria; for it was their bulwark, commanding, as it did, "the roads from Mosul to Aleppo, and penetrating like a wedge between Moslem Syria and the emirates of Mesopotamia."[1] Thoroughly alarmed at the fall of their rampart, which at all costs they ought to have prevented, the Syrian Latins at once sent to Europe for help. As we have seen,[2] the bishop of Gabala came to implore the assistance of the Pope (November 1145), and other ambassadors from the East appeared in France and Germany.[3]

Eugenius and St. Bernard arouse Europe.

Eugenius, "a man full of God," realising at once the gravity of the situation, wrote to Louis VII. of France, and, pointing out to him that by the fall of Edessa, "called in our language Rohais (Roas),"[4] the Church of God and

[1] Stevenson, *The Crusades in the East*, p. 153. [2] *Supra*, p. 138.

[3] *Chron. Maurin.*, iii. § 7. *Cf. Hist. Welforum*, c. 27.

[4] "It was also called Callihroë, whence its Armenian name, Er-Roha, from which comes the mediæval Roasse." A. Stewart, note p. 1 to his translation of Marino Sanuto, ap. *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc.*, London, 1896.

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all Christendom were in peril,[1] exhorted him and his nobles to take up arms against the infidel. He would have the king show himself another Mathathias, and, in assuming the cross, not to devote himself to the idle and vain pomp of war, but to its solid needs. Louis himself did not require to be urged to fight the infidels. He had already made up his mind to take the cross to atone for the massacre of Vitry, and to fulfil the vow of going to Jerusalem which had been taken by his brother Philip, but which death had prevented his accomplishing.[2] Finding, however, that his first appeal to his barons for support met with little sympathy, Louis called upon St. Bernard to proclaim the Crusade. But for a time the saint resisted both his exhortations and those of the Pope, and only yielded after the latter had issued another encyclical inviting all to take the cross in order either to free their brethren or to die for them.[3] The initial success at any rate of the Crusade was now assured. When St. Bernard addressed the multitudes on the woody height of Vezelay (1146), he awoke an echo that did not die away till it had reverberated throughout all France, and resounded across the Rhine and the English Channel. His words were intensified by the letters which he sent in all directions, and by the miracles which he wrought as he journeyed

[1] "In quo (the loss of Edessa, now Orfa), quantum ecclesiæ Dei et toti Christianitati periculum immineat, et nos cognoscimus, et prudentiam vestram latere non credimus." Ep. 48, December 1, 1145. *Cf.* Will. of Tyre, *Hist. rer. trans.*, xvi. 18. "Eugenius, vir Deo plenus, paternam gerens pro filiorum Orientalium, quæ dicebatur, afflictione sollicitudinem," etc.

[2] Otto, *De gest. Frid.*, i. 35 (al. 34).

[3] "A rege Francorum semel et iterum . . . expetitus, apostolicis etiam litteris monitus, nec sic acquievit super hoc loqui . . . donec per ipsius tandem summi Pontificis generalem epistolam jussus ab eo est tanquam R. Ecclesiæ lingua exponere populis," etc. Bern., *Vita I.*, l. iii. c. 4, n. 9. *Cf. De consid.*, ii. 1; ep. Bern. 247; Otto, *l.c.*; Odo de Diogilo, l. i. p. 1207.

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on.[1] And all that he did was supported by the Pope, who, prevented as he said "by the tyranny of the Romans" from preaching the Crusade, sent his letters in all directions, and special crosses to Louis and his nobles.[2] The Crusade was everywhere taken up with the greatest enthusiasm. In France "cities and castles are made empty," writes St. Bernard,[3] "and now they find with difficulty one man that seven women can lay hold of, so many widows are there everywhere, and their husbands still living." From England we are told that "the flower of the English youth, all manly hearts, and the most distinguished for valour and resolution, flew with eagerness to wipe out the disgrace (of Edessa), so that it might have been supposed that England was depopulated . . . by the emigration of pilgrims in such numbers and classes."[4] Nor were the Germans able to resist the earnestness and eloquence of Bernard, and the letters of the Pope. King Conrad declared his intention of taking the cross, and the note of preparation for war was heard throughout all Germany.

The Pope enters France, 1147.

Before leaving his country, Louis felt there was much to be done, and he accordingly pressed the Pope to come to France, in order to help him to make his final arrangements.[5] Not unwilling to be away from the untractable Romans, Eugenius accepted the invitation, and reached Lyons in March 1147. A few days afterwards he met the king at Dijon. As soon as Louis saw "the Apostolic Majesty" he dismounted from his horse, and kissed the

[1] *Cf.* Vacandard, ii. c. 27.

[2] "Eugenius misit literas christianis principibus . . . ut convenirent ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus. Et ideo raptim convolatur ad arma, quia promittur militantibus et penitentibus indulgentia peccatorum a sede apostolica." Gerhoh, *Comment. in Ps. 39*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. 437; ep. 360, Alexand. III., ap. *P. L.*, t. 200; Jaffé, 8876; *Otto. contin. Sublas.*, c. 1; and Odo, *l.c.*

[3] Ep. 247. [4] *Acta Stephani*, l. ii., Forester's trans. [5] Boso.

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Pope's feet "as though he had met Peter the Apostle or Jesus Christ Himself." For a brief space the Pope appeared to take no notice of him, whereupon the people cried aloud: "It is the king! May your Apostolic Majesty deign to receive him, and to bid him mount his horse." Still he rode on, though the sight of the king's humility was moving him to tears. At length he stopped, and after greeting him in a manner "becoming both the apostolical and the royal dignity," he thus addressed him: "My son, consider how wondrously God works in this world. Your brother Henry, the heir of a race of kings, now a monk at Clairvaux, is washing dishes, and I, who, by one of the secret dispensations of God, have been made the father of all Christians, have myself oft washed dishes also while a Cistercian monk. It was then for the greater glory of God that I delayed to greet you for a little while, so that by showing yourself, great king as you are, humble towards God's vicar, you might receive from Him a crown of endless glory."[1]

He takes measures for the government of France.

After this interview with Louis, Eugenius went to Paris, where he met with a splendid reception.[2] He then cele-

[1] *Chron. de Ludovico Fr. rege*, ap. Watterich, ii. 298, or *Recueil des hists. des Gaules*, xii. 90 f. "Ego factus sum per Dei occultissimam gratiam . . . omnium pater christianorum, qui scutellas lavi quam sæpius in ordine Cisterciensi! Ideo ad majorem summi rerum ordinatoris gloriam te aliquantulum recipere distuli," etc. This chronicle is really an extract from *Stephen of Paris's* Commentary (in MS.) on the rule of St. Benedict, c. 35. It was composed after 1162. The author speaks of Eugenius as "dignitate et vita vere apostolicus totus," and calls Louis "the shield of the Church" (*Comment. in reg. S. Bened.*).

[2] The pageant was, however, marred by a disturbance which resulted in some of the Pope's attendants being wounded, and, as a consequence, in the destruction by the king's orders of the buildings attached to the Church of St. Genèvieve (Ralph de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.*, an. 1146), and, by the Pope's authority, in the introduction of the canons regular into the Church, as it was through the secular canons that his followers were injured. (Rob. de Monte, *Chron.*, an. 1146.)

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brated Easter with great pomp in the abbey of St. Denis (April 20), in the presence of a vast crowd of people.[1] As soon as the Easter festivities were over, Eugenius devoted himself, in conjunction with Louis, to forwarding the preparations for the Crusade. In his bulls he did not confine himself to offering a plenary indulgence to the contrite who took part in the Crusade,[2] and to taking under the protection of the Church the wives, children, and property of the Crusaders, but he issued various practical regulations for their benefit. No suit was to be instituted against a Crusader in his absence regarding any property which he was holding in peaceful possession when he took the cross; he was also exempted from the payment of usurious interest, and, to raise money for the holy war, could pledge his fief to anyone if his suzerain was unable or unwilling to advance him the required sums. Finally, he instructed the Crusaders not to consult luxury but utility in preparing for the war; not to go with dogs and hawks, fine clothes and gorgeous armour, but with horses and such arms as would make for victory.[3] Had the spirit of the Pope's instructions in this last respect been carried out, the second Crusade might have had a very different result.

To preserve harmony among the different princes and peoples who were taking part in the Crusade, he attached two cardinals to the crusading host; and, that lasting spiritual good might follow from the expedition, he begged Conrad to strive for the reunion "of the Church of Constan-

[1] "In pascha magnifice suscipitur et coronatur." *Chron. S. Dionysii*, 1146, ap. d'Achery, *Spicil.*, ii. 495; Odo, *l.c.*, p. 1209; Boso.

[2] "Peccatorum remissionem et absolutionem . . . talem concedimus, ut qui tam sanctum iter devote incœperit et perfecerit . . . de omnibus peccatis suis, de quibus corde contrito et humiliato confessionem susceperit, absolutionem obtineat," etc. Ep. 48.

[3] *Ib.*

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tinople" with "the holy Roman Church."[1] He had already written to the Byzantine emperor (Manuel Comnenus) to bespeak his goodwill towards the Crusaders. Though Manuel, in his reply, had stipulated that the soldiers of the cross should do homage to him, and had begged Eugenius to urge the offering of it in return for his help, he had shown himself very gracious to the Pope. He had expressed his astonishment that Eugenius had hitherto not sent an *apocrisiarius* to him to inform him of his health; had assured him that his great virtue had attracted his love and confidence; and had begged him to pray for the Empire.[2] It was no doubt these expressions of Manuel's goodwill towards him that led Eugenius to hope that he would be favourable to an attempt at reunion. But he and his successors were to learn by bitter experience that when the Byzantine emperors wanted anything from them, they were ever ready to dangle the bait of the reunion of East and West before their eager eyes, and that they were seldom animated by any but political motives.

Eugenius the guardian, and Suger the regent of France.

Though Abbot Suger, Louis's chief counsellor, was opposed to his sovereign's undertaking the Crusade, he was the one who was chosen to be the regent of the kingdom in the absence of its ruler; but it required the authority of Eugenius, into whose special custody the country was committed,[3] to compel the reluctant abbot to accept the weighty charge.[4] Owing to the complete con-

[1] Ep. 204, July 15, 1147. *Cf.* ep. 214, and Odo, *l.c.*

[2] Ep. of Manuel, ap. Theiner, *Mon. spect. ad unionem eccles.*, p. 6 ff., Vienna, 1872.

[3] "Ad cujus (King Louis) utique preces ipsum regnum in manu et potestate sua recepit." Boso. *Cf. Anon. Cas. Chron.*, 1146: "Ejusque (Eugenius) tutelæ regno Francorum dimisso"; and ep. Eugenii, 355: "Qui (Louis) regnum suum sub sanctæ ecclesiæ protectione reliquit, et tam nos quam vos, ut illud . . . tueremur."

[4] *Vita Sugerii* (l. iii. p. 394), by his companion William; ed. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1867, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 186. *Cf. Chron. S. Dionysii*, 1146, quoted *ib.*, p. 414.

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fidence which existed between the great abbot and the Pope, the arrangement which made Eugenius guardian of France, and Suger its regent, worked well; for, writes the latter's biographer,[1] "whatever Suger decreed in France was ratified at Rome, and whatever the one initiated was corroborated by the other." As a last measure of precaution, the Pope, before he left France to return to Italy, declared all such excommunicated as should dare to disturb the kingdom during the absence of its king.[2] Under these two monks, under the Cistercian Pope and the Benedictine abbot, France flourished; and, when Louis returned from the inglorious second Crusade, he received back from the little, feeble monk the talent of his kingdom with interest.[3]

Departure of Louis.

Meanwhile, however, the time for the departure of the French host had arrived, and Louis betook himself, according to custom, to the abbey of St. Denis to obtain the protection of the patron saint of France. The excitement of the people was intense. By turns they wept, and by turns blessed their king. After Mass the Pope presented to Louis the relics of St. Denis to be kissed, and then gave him the staff and wallet of the pilgrim, and the oriflamme or standard of St. Denis (June 10).[4]

Crusades against the Slavs and Moors, 1147.

About the same time that, in their hundreds of thousands, Crusaders left France and the Empire to fight the infidels in the Holy Land, others marched thence against the Moors in Spain, and against the heathen Slavs. Some writers, indeed, believe it to have been the vast design of St. Bernard and the Pope to send forth the might of Christendom against the hordes of heathens and infidels which encircled it. However, as a matter of fact, although Eugenius did bless

[1] *L.c.*, p. 396. *Cf. ib.*, pp. 398–9.

[2] *Chron. Maurin.*, iii. § 7.

[3] Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, iii. pt. i. p. 20.

[4] Odo, *l.c.*; *Gesta Lud. jun.*, § 4; ep. of the monk Henry to Wibald, ep. Wib. 46.

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these efforts,[1] still he would appear to have made it plain that he was more pleased that the soldiers of the Empire should fight against the Saracen than against the Slav.[2]

Failure of the Crusade, 1149.

Unfortunately, the failure on the part of Conrad and Louis to obtain the advice of the king of Jerusalem as to their conduct of the expedition,[3] the jealousies of the Christian princes, and, to put the case very temperately, the unsatisfactory conduct of the Byzantines, caused the second Crusade to end in nothing. It was a lamentable failure. Conrad and Louis returned to Europe without having effected anything (1149). "Woe to our princes!" wrote St. Bernard.[4] "In the Lord's land they did no good, and in their own, to which they returned with all speed (1149), they practise incredible mischief."

The Pope is loath to approve of another Crusade.

Although St. Bernard had to bear the brunt of the odium which the collapse of the Crusade brought upon its authors, he was not so disheartened as was the Pope. Eugenius was able, indeed, to console Conrad for its disasters,[5] but not himself. The blood that had been shed was ever before his mind, and he was filled with inconsolable grief.[6] When,

[1] Ep. 166, April 11, 1147. [2] Ep. 214.

[3] This is the sole reason for the failure of the Crusade which is given by our countryman, Hadrian IV. *Cf.* ep. Had., 241, ap. *P. L.*, t. 188.

[4] Ep. 288.

[5] Ep. 354. With regard to Conrad, Eugenius had at first not been very eager that he should assume the cross. He felt he needed his protection against the revolutionary Romans, and did not fail to blame the king for deciding upon such a distant expedition without consulting him. Conrad, however, pleaded that he had been moved to act in the matter by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, so that the Pope could not but approve of his decision. "Sane quod dulcedinem vestram movit," wrote Conrad to him, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Corb.*, p. 111, "nos rem tantam, scilicet de signo vivificæ crucis et de tantæ tamque longæ expeditionis proposito, absque vestra conscientia assumpsisse, de magno veræ dilectionis affectu processit. Set Spiritus Sanctus, qui ubi vult spirat, qui repente venire consuevit, nullas in captando vestro vel alicuius consilio moras nos habere permisit."

[6] Ep. 382.

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therefore, word reached Europe that the principality of Antioch was in danger, although St. Bernard and Suger wished to promote another crusade, not only were the bishops of France lukewarm, but the Pope was timid.[1] Even a strong letter from St. Bernard exhorting him "not to fall below the zeal of him (St. Peter) whose place he held,"[2] failed to do more than win from him a cold assent to his designs and those of Suger (June 19, 1150).[3] The second Crusade was dead and buried, and could not be resuscitated.

Eugenius in France and Germany after the departure of the kings, 1147–8.

When Conrad and Louis and the hosts of Germany and France marched off to fight in the East, Eugenius did not at once return to Italy. He did not, in fact, recross the Alps till news of the failure of the Crusade began to be noised abroad. In the meantime he journeyed from place to place in France and Germany, acting not merely as Pope, but as guardian of those countries, especially of France. In his co-operation with Suger in the government of France, we find him giving instructions to the regent as to how to deal with refractory bishops. "With regard to those bishops who will not act along with you in the defence of the kingdom, send me the names of some of them, that we may not appear to be blaming the whole episcopal body. I will then take them to task, and admonish them to lend themselves to preserve the good order of the kingdom."[4]

While in this way helping Suger to make his regency a success, the Pope did not lose sight of Germany. He not only promised his assistance to Conrad's son Henry, the young king of the Romans,[5] and urged the bishops of the

[1] Ep. 382, April 1150.

[2] Ep. 256. On the proper date of this letter (viz., 1150), see Vacandard, *Saint Bernard*, ii. 447 n.

[3] Ep. 390. Death alone prevented Suger from himself leading an army of Crusaders into the Holy Land, † January 13, 1151.

[4] Ep. 229, October 6, 1147.

[5] Ep. 245, an. 1147.

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Empire to serve him loyally,[1] but himself went to Trier (November 1147) that he might be more in touch with the course of events in Germany. He had been invited thither by its archbishop, Alberon or Adalberon, who, as we are told by his admiring biographer, Balderic,[2] in preparation for the coming of Eugenius, built "the Pope's house" of three storeys (*tria habentem intersticia*) in six weeks. On Sunday, November 30, Eugenius was conducted to the cathedral in great state by the clergy and people. With Alberon on his right, and the archbishop of Cologne on his left, he was preceded by "many bishops of Germany, Belgium, France, England, Burgundy, and of every nation under the sun." The enthusiastic historian then names the cardinals "who in face, manner, gait, learning, character, and high repute were worthy of immortal fame."[3] On Christmas day, he notes, the Pope and the cardinals rode to the cathedral on horses with white trappings, and, he adds, there was not an inch of room to spare in the great building. For twelve weeks did the archbishop entertain Eugenius and his court with the utmost liberality, and give hospitality to the crowds who came to see the Pope.

St. Hildegard of Bingen.

Whilst thus generously entertained by the archbishop of the ancient Roman city on the Moselle, there were brought to the special notice of Eugenius the life and writings of St. Hildegard of Bingen, "fair Bingen on the Rhine." Hildegard, one of the greatest souls who ever lived in a nunnery, was another Catherine of Siena.[4] She was the fearless counsellor of popes and emperors, was as learned as she was holy, and was already believed to have written works that "had come through God, and

[1] Ep. 272, April 1, 1148.

[2] He was a young man in 1147. *Cf.* his *Vita Alb.*, c. 22, ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 23.

[4] Her works ap. *P. L.*, t. 197, and ap. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, t. viii.

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through that power of prophecy by which the prophets had anciently written."[1] Her instructions in virtue were cast in the form of revelations, and St. Bernard, one of her correspondents, "with the consent of others, urged the Pope not to suffer so great a light to be obscured, but to confirm it by authority."[2]

Eugenius was deeply impressed by what he heard of the holy maiden, and conceived a special affection for her.[3] Nevertheless, in writing to her on the subject of her visions he did not fail to warn her against the dangers of pride: "We congratulate ourselves in this grace of God, and we congratulate thee, but we would have thee reminded that God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly. Take good care of this grace which is within thee, in order that what thou art spiritually (*in spiritu*) urged to proclaim, thou mayest proclaim with caution."[4] An extract from the lengthy reply of the abbess, "written in an admonitory tone," will serve to show the mystical nature of her writings. "The light," she says, "stays within me, and glows in my soul as it has done since my childhood." . . .

[1] *Vita Hild.*, c. 17, ap. *P. L.*, t. 197. The *Life* was written soon after her death (†1178). *Cf.* ep. 366 of St. Bernard to Hildegard, abbess of Mount St. Rupert: "You are said to be so favoured that the hidden things of heaven are revealed to you."

[2] *Ib.*, c. 5.

[3] This we know from ep. 199 (ap. *P. L.*, t. 199) of John of Salisbury to Gerard Pucella (an. 1167), who tells his correspondent that Hildegard was revered by him because: "Eam d. Eugenius speciali charitatis affectu familiarius amplectebatur." He also notes that she prophesied that Eugenius would only have peace in Rome at the end of his life, and he asks Gerard if she had foretold anything about the close of the present schism, viz., that of Alexander III. and of Guido of Crema (Paschal III.).

[4] *Ep. Eug.*, ap. Hild., *Op.* in *P. L.*, t. 197, p. 145; translation of Lina Eckenstein, from whose beautiful book *Woman under Monasticism* we have taken nearly all we have said about Hildegard. *Cf.* also Battandier, *Revue des quest. hist.*, t. xxxiii., 1883, p. 395 ff.; Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, i. p. 446 ff.

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"A jewel lies on the road, a bear comes, and deeming it beautiful puts out his paw and would treasure it in his bosom (the bear is the German emperor). But suddenly an eagle snatches the jewel, wraps it in the covering of his wings, and bears it upward to the royal palace (the eagle represents the Pope, the palace the kingdom of Christ). The jewel gives out much light before the king, so that he rejoices, and out of love of the jewel gives to the eagle golden shoes (the insignia of papal authority), and praises him for his goodness. Now do thou, who art sitting in the place of Christ, in care of the Church, choose the better part; be as the eagle overcoming the bear, that with the souls entrusted to thee thou mayest decorate the palace of the Church. . . . Make all things pure, and have thine eyes everywhere." [1]

The council of Rheims, March 21, 1148.

In the course of the month of February, Eugenius began slowly to return to France, for he had summoned a council to meet at Rheims in March.[2] On the appointed day it was duly opened by the Pope, and was attended by over four hundred bishops and abbots.[3] Three English bishops were present with the consent of King Stephen, and without it, as we shall see later, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.[4] Among the disciplinary decrees issued by the council may be noted, besides the condemnation of clerical marriage and of tournaments, the prohibition to give any manner of assistance to the heretics in Gascony or Provence, and the

[1] From Eckenstein, p. 268 f. *Cf.* Vacandard, *S. Bernard*, ii. 329 ff.

[2] Jaffé, 9147, 9149 (6361–2). It would seem that he had at first designated Troyes as the meeting-place of the synod.

[3] *Ann. Mellic.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix.; Sigebert, *Chron. contin. Gemblac.*, 1148. The synod suspended the archbishop of Cologne for not being present at the council. *Chron. reg. Colon.*, an. 1148. *Cf. ib.*, 1150, "Archiepisc. Colon. Romam veniens, d. Papa in sententia sua perseverante, minime reconciliari potuit, et sine restitutione officii sui rediit."

[4] *Hist. Pont.*, c. 2.

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declaration of the nullity of the orders conferred by Pierleone and other schismatics.[1]

The assembled bishops were also called upon to consider certain doctrines which had for their fathers a lunatic on the one hand, and a bishop of profound learning and sanctity on the other. The deranged teacher was an illiterate Breton, by name Eum (Eon, Eunus, Eudo) of the Star (de Stella). In our own country history tells how a certain Ward was able to found a sect, because the Scripture promised "Peace on earth towards men (*to Ward's men*)," so Eon or Eum was able to gather a number of followers, and to disturb the peace of France, because he was sure that God had entrusted the Last Judgment to him, inasmuch as the Church prayed "per *Eum* qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos." The Fathers decided that the insane creature should be entrusted to the care of the Regent, Abbot Suger.[2] (Eon.)

The other doctrines examined by the council were of a very different sort. They had for their author the learned teacher Gilbert de la Porrée,[3] at this time bishop of Poictiers. An eminent philosopher, devoted to the realistic theory of universals, he enunciated certain novel teachings with regard to the Blessed Trinity. These propositions he had deduced by applying to the truths which have been revealed concerning the nature of God, theories which were highly speculative even with regard to created things. Hence he was led to maintain the separation of the Divinity from God, and to uphold various corollaries connected with (Gilbert de la Porrée.)

[1] *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. 307 ff., Fr. ed.; Jaffé, *sub* 9197.

[2] William of Newburgh, *Hist.*, i. c. 19, is the chief authority relative to Eon. He attributes to him the most extraordinary magical powers. *Cf.* Otto of Frising, *Gesta Frid.*, i. 56 f.; Sigebert, *Chron. contin. Præmonstrat.*, 1148; etc.

[3] Some of Gilbert's works will be found treated of or printed at large, ap. *P. L.*, t. 64 or 188.

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that doctrine.[1] St. Bernard, to whom the slightest breath of heresy was nauseous, was induced to take the field against him; and at the same time his theories were brought before the notice of the Pope just before he left Italy for France.[2] Eugenius ordered both parties to present themselves before him at Easter time in Paris (1147).

For several days the abstruse questions in debate were duly discussed before the Pope, who, says our episcopal historian, "inasmuch as he was a cautious and religious man, perceiving the difficulties of the matter, adjourned it to the general council he had summoned to meet at Rheims in the Lent of the following year (1148)."[3]

The points in dispute were accordingly once more thoroughly sifted at the council of Rheims, seemingly after it had been officially closed. The Pope had in the meanwhile caused the works of Bishop Gilbert to be examined and criticised by a learned Premonstratensian monk.[4] The aid of the monk's notes enabled the Pope at last to bring the discussion to a definite issue. But in the meantime the questions in dispute were debated very hotly, and much feeling was aroused. St. Bernard, who had won over to his side the great majority of the French episcopate, carried away by his zeal, practically assumed the whole direction of the affair. This roused the indignation of the

[1] Otto, *l.c.*, i. 52 (50).

[2] *Cf.* the letter of St. Bernard's biographer Geoffrey to Albinus, bishop of Albano, "the vicar of the lord Pope," ap. *P. L.*, t. 185, p. 587 ff. "Appellatum denique est ad Romanam Ecclesiam, et coram papa eadem quæstio ventilata." *Cf.* Otto, *l.c.*, i. 48 (46).

[3] Otto, *l.c.*, i. 56 (54); Geoffrey, *l.c.*, n. 2. *Cf.* the same Geoffrey's *Libellus contra Gilbertum Porretanum*, nn. 2 and 3, ap. *P. L.*, t. 185, pp. 595–6. Vacandard, *S. Bernard*, i. 346 n., has called attention to the superior authority of these sources to that of John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pont.*, c. 8. ff.

[4] Geoffrey, ep., n. 3.

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cardinals. Declaring that the saint had acted in a similar manner in dealing with Master Peter (Abelard),[1] they showed considerable sympathy with Gilbert, and carried their complaints before the Pope. They did not hesitate to accuse him of preferring his private affection for Cîteaux to the general utility of the Church. Your abbot, they said, and these Gauls (*Galli isti*) have in our presence been assuming the prerogatives of the Roman Church, to whom alone it pertains to decide on questions regarding the faith.[2] St. Bernard, on his side, approached the Pope, freely (*familiariter*) urged him to play the man in the case, and persuaded him to accept the propositions which his party had prepared.[3] At the same time, to pacify the cardinals, he disclaimed any intention of wishing to define any article of faith, and declared that, as Gilbert had wished to see his doctrine written down, he had simply procured the help of the bishops to enable him to comply. The mild answer turned away wrath, and the indignation of the cardinals was soothed. But the saint's articles of belief were not accepted as a symbol of faith.[4] "Blessed be God," bursts in Otto, "who so provided for His spouse the Church that even her greatest members might not be at variance with their head, and that so large a number of religious and discreet persons of the Gallican Church in taking some judicial authority (*aliquod judicii pondus*) away from the Roman Church might not be an occasion of schism."

The propositions of St. Bernard, of which mention has

[1] "Arte simili magistrum Petrum (Abelard) aggressus erat (St. Bernard)." *Hist. Pont.*, c. 9.

[2] Otto, *l.c.*, i. 60 (57), "Sed quid fecit abbas tuus et cum eo Gallicana æcclesia? . . . Ipsa (the Roman see) sola de fide catholica discutere habens, a nullo, etiam absens, in hoc singulari honore prejudicium pati potest."

[3] *Hist. Pont.*, *l.c.*

[4] Otto, *l.c.*

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just been made, had been drawn up to oppose the contention of Gilbert in his negative reply to the Pope's crucial question as to whether the Divinity and God were one and the same. "You have said many things, my brother," said Eugenius to Gilbert, "and you have caused things to be read which perchance have not been understood, but I wish to hear from you simply whether you believe that that supreme essence by which you profess the Three Persons exist, is the One God."[1] To this categorical question, "wearied by the discussion," Gilbert had given an equally categorical reply in the negative. But he afterwards qualified his denial,[2] and furthermore frankly proclaimed that he wished to believe, teach, and write in the same sense as the Pope.[3]

Eugenius at last brought the matter to a close by forbidding the incriminated works of Gilbert to be read until they had been corrected. And when the bishop himself offered to correct them under the direction of the Pope, Eugenius informed him that the necessary correction would be made by others.[4]

There were some, John of Salisbury says,[5] who were of opinion that the bishop was not so humble and sincere as he pretended. In this criticism there was perchance but little truth ; however, Gilbert used to say himself that, lest the more simple might be scandalised, he would change his words, but not the doctrine with which the Holy Spirit had inspired him. And he was in the habit of proclaiming that the propositions which had been drawn up by St. Bernard and his coadjutors were not opposed to his

[1] Otto, *De gest. Frid.*, i. 58 (56). St. Bernard had declared "se credere quod Deus est deitas et e converso." *Hist. Pont.*, c. 8.

[2] Otto, *l.c.*

[3] Geoffrey, ep., n. 8. *Cf. Hist. Pont.*, c. 11.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *H. P.*, c. 12.

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teaching, if only they were understood in the right sense.[1]

At any rate, Gilbert's reputation for orthodoxy did not suffer by his examination at Paris and at Rheims. Along with the works of Peter Lombard, his *De Sex Principiis* "was held in great esteem as a text-book on logic until the close of the Middle Ages."[2]

Eugenius returns to Italy, 1148.

For a few months after the close of the important council at Rheims, Eugenius went about France from one place to another. In the month of April we find him sending the Golden Rose to Alfonso VII., el Emperador, as a mark of his goodwill. It was carried, he told the king, by the popes in memory of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, and he therefore exhorted him to let the sight of it make him more Christ-like.[3] As we have already seen, the spreading of the news of the failure of the second Crusade made residence in France[4] unpleasant for the Pope, and he left it in May (1148). Its collapse was attributed to him. "The Roman Church itself," wrote

[1] *Hist. Pont.*, c. 13.

[2] Turner, *Hist. of Philosophy*, p. 297; *cf.* Vacandard, *l.c.*, ii. pp. 356-7, and Eales in the preface to his translation of St. Bernard's works, i. pp. 52–60.

[3] Ep. 296. "Ad indicium bonæ voluntatis . . . circa te, rosam auream, quam in signum passionis et resurrectionis J. C. D. N., Dominica qua cantatur *Lætare, Jerusalem*, singulis annis Romanus portare pontifex consuevit." We have no space to go into details concerning the relations of Eugenius with Spain, but we would refer to his efforts to secure the primacy of Spain to the archbishop of Toledo. *Cf.* epp. 22, 296, 370–1, 447, 450, 569–72, and 589. Ep. 537 commands the Mozarabs to obey the archbishop of Toledo and his regulations concerning the Liturgy.

[4] *Cf.* ep. 94 for Eugenius's decision concerning the primacy of Bourges. Ep. 107 declares that there is freedom of election throughout the province of Bordeaux "absque hominii, juramenti, seu etiam fidei per manus datæ obligationem." *Cf.* epp. 101, 96–99, 126, 145–151, 264–5, for other relations between Eugenius and France.

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Pope Hadrian to King Louis[1] a few years later, "was not a little compromised because it had given you its counsel and favour for the expedition. All cried out against it in great indignation, saying that it was the cause of the misfortune."

Unable to bear up against this storm of unjust reproach which beat upon him, Eugenius, as we have said, left France for Italy in the month of May (1148).

[1] Ep. 241 Had., February 18, 1159, ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1615.

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CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND, ETC.

Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, at the Council of Rheims, 1148.

ON the petition of Theobald, Celestine II. had taken away from the bishop of Winchester, and had bestowed on the archbishop, the legatine authority in England which had been given to Henry by Pope Innocent II.[1] Mortified at this humiliation, Henry persuaded his brother King Stephen to forbid the archbishop to obey the summons which Eugenius had issued to the bishops of England to attend the council of Rheims. He argued that Theobald would be proscribed if he disobeyed the king, and would be suspended or deposed by the Pope if he did not obey his mandate.[2] But Theobald, "fearing God rather than man," contrived to evade the vigilance of the king's guards, and at the risk of his life to cross the Channel in a crazy old craft.[3] "It were difficult," says the historian of the Church of Canterbury, "to describe the exceeding joy and honour with which he was welcomed by the Pope, who, in the presence of the whole assemblage, declared that he had

[1] Gervase, *Actus Pont. Cant.*, p. 1665, ed. Twysden.

[2] *Ib.*; *cf. Chron.* Gervas., an. 1147, ap. *ib.*, p. 1363.

[3] *Ib.*; *cf.* John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pont.*, c. 2, and especially Theobald's own letter to Alexander III. in which he tells him, in language like that of St. Paul, what he suffered for his fidelity to the Roman Church: "Nam decessorum vestrorum tempore, naufragium, exsilia, nuditatem, pericula mortis, sicut Ecclesia Domini novit, pro fide S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ non subterfugimus, sed ex adverso principum stetimus, parati, si opus esset, pro indemnitate Ecclesiæ proprium sanguinem immolare." Ep. 36, inter epp. Joan. Saresber., ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 23.

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arrived there rather by swimming than by sailing, and this he had done out of regard for Blessed Peter."[1]

He saves Stephen from excommunication.

At this council not only was William of York, whose history will be told presently, excommunicated, but King Stephen very nearly shared the same fate. The Pope was annoyed with the English monarch because he had interfered with the movements of Cardinal John Paparo, who was going on a papal mission to Ireland; had prevented Henry Murdach from taking possession of the see of York, and had forbidden most of the English bishops to go to the council. Taking no heed of the request of many who were present and promised amendment in the king's name, Eugenius was about to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him, when Theobald stepped forward and earnestly implored him to spare his sovereign. Filled with astonishment, the Pope cried out: "Behold, my brethren, a man who fulfills the Gospel precept, loves his enemies, and ceases not to pray for his persecutors. . . . In response to his prayers we will grant the king three months' grace."[2] Similarly, at the request of Theobald, count of Blois, Henry's brother, the suspension of the bishop of Winchester was put off for six months, to give him an opportunity of presenting himself before the Pope.[3]

As a further mark of his appreciation of the archbishop's magnanimity, Eugenius left it to his discretion to confirm or annul the sentence of suspension decreed against the prelates of England for their disobedience in not attending the synod.[4]

Theobald returns to England, but has to leave it, 1148.

When the council was dissolved, Theobald returned to Canterbury; but he was warned to leave the country at

[1] *Actus, ib.* [2] *Hist. P., l.c.* [3] *Ib.*, c. 4.

[4] *Ib.* "D. vero Cantuariensi . . . concessit, ut omnes episcopi et abbates Angliæ qui suspensi erant pro beneplacito suo absolveret vel teneret suspensos." *Cf. ib.*, c. 15.

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once, as Stephen was furious because he had attended the council against his orders. He accordingly returned to France. His property was confiscated, and "for the second time was he proscribed for his obedience to the Roman Church."[1] To that Church he at once appealed. His envoys found the Pope at Brescia (July–September 1148), and had no difficulty in persuading him to espouse their master's cause. Eugenius accordingly wrote to the bishops of England individually and collectively, and bade them admonish the king to make all due satisfaction to the archbishop, and, in case of his refusal, to lay the country under an interdict, and inform the king that the Pope himself would excommunicate him by name on the forthcoming feast of St. Michael. He also urged the French bishops and nobles to help the archbishop as far as they could.[2]

The bishops of England, however, did not move; some were unwilling to act, and others were afraid.[3] Accordingly, when the interdict was proclaimed, it was only obeyed by the see of Canterbury; and even there the monks of St. Augustine's at Canterbury dared to disregard it. For this flagrant act of disobedience their ringleaders were promptly excommunicated by the archbishop, whose sentence was confirmed by the Pope.[4]

Whilst Theobald was still in exile, he consecrated bishop

[1] *Ib.*, c. 15. "Et secundo proscriptus est pro obediencia Romanæ ecclesiæ." *Cf.* Gervase, *Actus*, *l.c.*

[2] *Hist. P.*, c. 18.

[3] "Alii namque subterfugiebant ut absentibus nichil precipi posset, alii sua et amicorum pericula . . . metuebant." *Ib.*

[4] *Ib.* *Cf.* Gervase, *Chron.*, p. 1364, and epp. Eug., 337 (January 18, 1149), and ep. 351; see also ep. 352 (1149). William Thorn (*c.* 1397, *Chron.*, ap. Twysden, pp. 1807–8) would have us believe that in disregarding the archbishop's sentence of interdict, the monks thought he had been acting simply as archbishop of Canterbury, not adverting to the fact that he was also the Pope's legate—"non advertentes auctoritatem legatariæ potestatis dicti archiepiscopi."

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of Hereford the famous Gilbert Foliot. Gilbert, then abbot of Gloucester, had been elected by the influence of the archbishop, to the great satisfaction of Henry, duke of Normandy, soon to be Henry II., king of England. As the latter's party had still control over the west of England, Henry would not confirm the election unless Gilbert in person promised fealty to him, and not to King Stephen, who, in accordance with the directions of the Holy See, was recognised by the whole English Church.[1] The bishop-elect accordingly went over to France along with three English bishops whom the Pope had ordered to assist at his consecration. The three bishops, however, under the pretence that they had sworn fealty to Stephen, and that it was against ancient custom that a bishop should be consecrated outside the country, especially without the consent of the king, and without having sworn allegiance to the king, were unwilling to obey. In accordance, therefore, with the command of the Pope, French bishops assisted Theobald in the consecration (September 1148). But no sooner had Gilbert received the episcopal character, and returned to England, than he swore fealty to Stephen. Henry's indignation may be imagined; but he was at length pacified by the archbishop's pointing out to him that a bishop ought not to cause a schism in a church by refusing allegiance to one whom the Roman Church had recognised as king.[2]

Theobald again returns to England, 1149–50.

Time passed, and the archbishop, finding that the proceedings of the Roman court had been clogged by the king's gold, returned to England to support the action of

[1] *Hist. P.*, c. 19. Stephen "quem tota Anglicana ecclesia sequebatur ex constitutione ecclesie Romane. Licet enim proceres divisi diversos principes sequerentur, unum tamen habebat ecclesia."

[2] *Hist. Pont.*, c. 19. "Persuadens ei quod episcopo non licuerat ecclesiam scindere ei subtrahendo fidelitatem, quem ecclesia Romana recipiebat ut principem."

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those who were working to bring about peace between him and the king. Safe in Hugh Bigod's castle of Framlingham in Suffolk, he renewed the interdict, and summoned the bishops before him. At length, through the mediation of a number of bishops and nobles, a settlement was effected. A fresh charter of liberty was granted the church, the archbishop's property was restored, and he himself was conducted with great pomp to Canterbury.[1]

Henry, bishop of Winchester, 1151.

Making use of the powers which Eugenius had granted him, Theobald had absolved from suspension all the bishops of England except Henry of Winchester, who had failed to present himself before the Pope during the six months' grace which had been granted him. Henry, therefore, betook himself to Rome, and no sooner had his suspension been removed by the aid of some of his friends among the cardinals, than he began to move every lever in order that the pallium might be granted him, and that he might be made archbishop of the west of England, or that he might again be made papal legate in England. Failing to secure either of these privileges, he strove to obtain that his church, or at least that he himself personally, might be exempted from the jurisdiction of Canterbury. But the Pope would not hearken to any of his requests, "both because he was suspicious of him and regarded him as the cause of all the trouble in England, and because he knew what was due to the church of Canterbury."[2] Eugenius believed that it was Henry who urged his brother to harass the Church. "But," adds John of Salisbury, "the king's conduct showed that he was guided neither by him nor by any other wise man."[3] It chanced, however, that once whilst Henry was in the Pope's company,

[1] "Nove carte confecte de ecclesie privilegiis." *Ib.*, c. 20. *Cf.* Gervase, *Actus* and *Chron.*, *ll.cc.*

[2] *Hist. Pont.*, c. 39.

[3] *Ib.*

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word was brought that Stephen was again troubling the Church. "I am glad I was not at home," broke in the bishop, "or this new disturbance would have been put down to me." Upon this the Pope smiled and said: "Once when the devil's mother was upbraiding him for his evil deeds, a tempest arose, and several vessels were shipwrecked under their eyes. 'If I had been there,' interposed the devil, 'you would have credited me with that evil.' 'Well,' replied his mother, 'even if you were not there, you have already dragged your tail there.'" Turning then to the bishop, Eugenius queried: "Have you not dragged your tail through the English sea?"[1]

Theobald once more an exile, and once more returns, 1152.

Though for the sake of the peace of the realm Innocent II. had confirmed Stephen's claim to the English throne, the Holy See persistently refused to sanction the succession of his son Eustace. With a view, however, to securing the crown to him, Stephen held in London a general council of the prelates and nobles of the land, and requested his coronation. But Theobald, acting, we are told, under the able advice of Thomas Becket, pleaded that Pope Eugenius had forbidden him to crown Eustace.[2] At first the bishops upheld the decision of Theobald; but, terrified by the anger of the furious king, they began to desert him.

[1] *Hist. Pont.*, c. 39. *Cf. Annal. Winton.*, 1151.

[2] "Papa litteris suis Cantuariensi prohibuerat archiepiscopo, ne filium regis qui contra jusjurandum regnum usurpasse videbatur in regem sublimaret." Gervase, *Chron.*, 1152. *Cf. ib.*, *Actus*, 1668; *Hist. P.*, c. 41; Henry of Huntingdon, l. viii.

"Hic (Theobald) Stephani regis natum quo jure sacraret
Cogitur, id temnit, vix fugit inde necem."

Draco Norman., iii. v. 899, 900.

Cf. supra, p. 84. An embassy to Eugenius, undertaken by Roger of Pont-l'Evêque, archdeacon of Canterbury (afterwards archbishop of York and the great enemy of St. Thomas Becket), failed to move the Pope to withdraw his prohibition. *Cf.* epp. of St. Thomas, ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Thos. B.*, vi. 58; vii. 242. R. S.

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Thereupon the archbishop once again fled the country; but on this occasion a short time only elapsed before he was recalled. The policy of the Popes saved the situation; and if the anarchy of Stephen's reign was succeeded by more than the semblance of peace and order under Henry II., it is acknowledged that the restoration of the form at least of law was due to Rome.[1]

St. William of York.

In the beginning of this chapter it was stated that William, archbishop of York, was excommunicated at the council of Rheims (1148). The events which led up to the excommunication may be conveniently related here. On the death of Thurstan (1140), a number of intrigues were set on foot by different parties to secure the election of a candidate after their own heart. Waltheof, the famous prior of Kirkham, was prevented by King Stephen from being elected because he "was a great favourite of David of Scotland," and Stephen's nephew, Henry de Sully, abbot of Fécamp, was disallowed by the Pope because he would not agree to give up his monastery if he became archbishop.[2] At length, in January 1141, the clergy of York met again, and the majority of them agreed in choosing their treasurer William. But he was another of the king's nephews; and the natural suspicion of undue court influence was much strengthened when William de Albemarle, earl of York, who had been present at the election, seized and imprisoned the archdeacons of York who were on their way to the king to protest against it.[3]

His case referred to Rome.

After the king had presented William with the temporalities of his see, Henry, bishop of Winchester, then papal legate in England, sent him to Rome, and "remitted

[1] *Cf.* Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i. 477.

[2] John of Hexham, *Hist. Hagulst.*, an. 1142. John is mistaken in calling de Sully (also called de Sodle, de Coilli, or de Crilli) abbot of Caen.

[3] *Ib.*

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(his case) to the judgment of the apostolic sovereign," because a formal charge of simony had been preferred against him by certain of the York clergy (1142). Their accusations were supported by the Cistercian party of reform, chief of whom, after 1143, was Henry Murdach, a disciple of St. Bernard, and then (1143) abbot of Fountains,[1] a man as severe and uncompromising towards others as towards himself. When Innocent had heard the charges, he ordered all the parties concerned to present themselves before him on the third Sunday in the Lent of the following year. Accordingly, both William and his accusers presented themselves before Innocent in the Lateran palace (1143). "The sum of the complaint" against the archbishop-elect, says John of Hexham, "appeared to be in this, that William, earl of York, as the representative of the king in the chapter of York, commanded that this William should be elected. The Pope, therefore, decreed that if William, dean of York, would swear that this order of the king was never brought by the earl before the chapter, William (Fitz-Herbert) might be duly consecrated, provided also that he would give a pledge in his own person that he had not sought this preferment by bribery."[2]

William is consecrated, 1143.

On his return to England, the archbishop-elect, "in accordance with the apostolic decree," presented himself before the papal legate and the bishops of the country at Winchester (September 1143). Unfortunately for the archbishop, William, formerly dean of York, but at the moment bishop of Durham, was prevented, or pretended that he was prevented,[3] by local disturbances from attending the synod. The oath, therefore, which the Pope had

[1] John of H., *ib.*

[2] *Ib.*, ann. 1143 and 4. Stevenson's translation. *Cf.* Gervase, *Actus*, p. 1665, and St. Bernard, epp. 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 346, 347, 353, 360.

[3] Epp. Bern., 235, 236.

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ordered to be taken was never proffered. However, as "the affection of the multitude was urgent in his favour," and as no one appeared to say anything against him, he was consecrated by Henry, the papal legate;[1] for Archbishop Theobald, not satisfied with William's election, would not perform the function (September 26).[2] Everything seemed now well for William; and, to crown all, Pope Lucius[3] sent a legate, Igmarus (Hincmar), to England with the pallium for him. "But," says our Tyneside historian, "William, through carelessness, delayed to meet him, being engaged in other affairs of less moment, as was customary with him. . . . He had been brought up in luxury and wealth, and was little accustomed to exertion."[4] Meanwhile Pope Lucius died, and was succeeded by Eugenius, while a fellow-disciple of the latter, Henry Murdach, had become abbot of Fountains. "Those, therefore, who were opposed to the archbishop, regaining confidence, again came together along with this Henry (Murdach), who greatly relied on his favour with the Pope, and again pressed their appeal against William. Thereupon Igmarus was recalled, and returned to Rome carrying back the pallium."[5]

When it was too late, William aroused himself, and went to Rome for his pallium, only to find Eugenius prejudiced

William is suspended by Eugenius.

[1] John of Hexham, an. 1144.

[2] Gervase, *l.c.* "Cujus electioni cum non consentiret archiepiscopus Theodbaldus, sacravit eum . . . Henricus."

[3] *Cf.* epp. Bernard, 235, 236, to Celestine II. against William.

[4] John of H., an. 1146. Probably, however, William did not face the legate, because he had doubts about the validity of his cause, and he would know that Igmarus had assured St. Bernard "that under no circumstances would he deliver the pallium . . . unless the dean, now become bishop, had made the statement on oath upon which the whole case depended, but that he would refer the cause to the Pope for decision." Ep. Bern., 360.

[5] John of H., *l.c.*

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against him owing to St. Bernard's opposition to him. The saint, reminding Eugenius that it was the prerogative of the Roman pontiff alone peremptorily to order the deposition of a bishop, called upon him to dethrone "that idol at York."[1] Despite the support which William received from certain cardinals, Eugenius accordingly declared him suspended from his episcopal office until the former dean of York should take the oath that had been ordered by Innocent.[2] But no oath was forthcoming, and St. Bernard gives us the reason. "Letters," said he to the Pope, "written by the dean of York to the legate of the Apostolic See are in existence in which he openly asserts that there was an open intrusion, and denies the validity of the election. So therefore (the archbishop) finds that the witness that he had himself brought forward is his accuser."[3]

He is deposed.

Whilst with all his wonted force St. Bernard was urging William's deposition, news reached Rome that some of his kindred, "enraged at his troubles," made an effort to seize Murdach, whom they considered as the chief author of them. Though they failed to find the abbot of Fountains, they sacked his monastery.[4] This indiscreet zeal on the part of William's friends was fatal to him. He was declared deposed "from the functions and benefice of the archbishopric of York" by the Pope at the council of Paris (April–June, 1147). At the same time Eugenius "addressed a letter to William, bishop of Durham, and the chapter of York, requiring them, within forty days after

[1] Ep. 239. [2] John of H., 1147; *Chron. Mailros.*, an. 1146.

[3] Ep. 240.

[4] Serlo, sometime abbot of Fountains and then of Kirkstall (1160), *Hist. mon. Font.*, n. 36, ap. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. p. 302; ed. London, 1830. John of H., *l.c.*; St. Bernard, ep. 252. The saint implies that in the sacking of the monastery some of the monks were killed.

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the receipt of his epistle, to elect in his stead a man of learning, judgment, and piety."[1]

These misfortunes proved the salvation of William. They made him a saint. In losing all, he gained all. He withdrew under the protection of Henry of Winchester; and, "during the whole period of his humiliation, he uttered no murmur or complaint. . . . He never reproached his opponents, and closed his heart and ears against those who did. . . . He became altogether a changed character."[2]

Murdach is elected archbishop of York, 1147.

In the meanwhile, "in obedience to the Pope's decree, the superior clergy of the church and diocese of York assembled at St. Martin's Church in the suburb of Richmond"[3] (July 24). The electors were divided in their choice; one party, that of the deposed Archbishop William, chose "Master Hilary, the Pope's clerk";[4] the other party "gave the preference to Henry Murdach, abbot of Fountains. The Pope determined this question by consecrating Henry archbishop at the city of Trier" (December 7, 1147).[5]

He is at first rejected by Stephen.

Unfortunately, however, the difficulties of the church of York were not terminated by the Pope's decisive action. When Murdach returned to England, Stephen refused to receive him, "unless he took an oath of fealty to him (*de fidelitate servanda*)."[6] From this we may no doubt conclude that Murdach would not do homage to the king, on the ground that he had already been consecrated; for, by the concordat concluded with Henry I., homage could only

[1] J. of H., an. 1148. *Cf.* Gervase, *Chron.*, ap. Twysden, p. 1363.

[2] John of H., *ib.* [3] John of H., 1148.

[4] "This Hilary . . . when in the service of the Pope, proved himself, in the pleading of cases in the Roman court, a most . . . skilful lawyer." He was afterwards "by the Pope's direction consecrated bishop of Chichester." *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.* *Cf.* Serlo, *l.c.*, n. 37; Will. of Newbury, *Hist.*, i. 17; Gervase, *l.c.*; Stubbs, *Actus Pont. Ebor.*, ap. Twysden, p. 1271.

[6] Will. of N., *l.c.*

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be exacted before consecration. Moreover, as the Popes had always refused to recognise Stephen's son as the heir to the throne, Murdach may possibly have also declined to countenance the succession of Eustace—a course of action which throws light on Eustace's personal opposition to him. Owing to the action of the king, William's party, who were in the ascendant at York, would not admit Murdach within their walls, and even put to death, or at least very badly mutilated, one of the archdeacons who had favoured him throughout.[1] The archbishop retorted by laying the city under an interdict, which Eustace forced the clergy to disregard.[2]

But is at length recognised by him, 1151.

Upon this, Murdach "eagerly wrote a complaint to the Pope."[3] But Eustace, reflecting "that the archbishop enjoyed the Pope's favour,"[4] came at length to the conclusion that it would be more for his own interests to make a friend of him, than to continue to oppose him. He accordingly had a private interview with the archbishop, in which he appears to have persuaded him that it would be for the good of the kingdom if he succeeded his father. He next reconciled Stephen with Henry, who was installed in his see with great pomp (January 25, 1151). Then, after the archbishop had "offered upon the altar the grants of dignities, liberties, and immunities bestowed in former times by the Popes on the church of York," and had "settled to his satisfaction the affairs of his see," he set out for Rome and kept Easter with Eugenius (March 30, 1151). He had been "despatched as ambassador to him on the business of the king and realm, of which the chief matter was that the king's son, Eustace, might be

[1] W. of N., *ib.*; *cf.* John of H., an. 1149, and Serlo, *l.c.*, who speaks with the greatest contempt of the citizens of York, "vulgus semper ignobile."

[2] *Ib.* [3] John of H., 1150. [4] *Ib.*, an. 1154.

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established by papal authority as heir to the throne."[1] We have, however, already seen that not even for love of his friend and fellow-disciple would Eugenius reverse in this respect the policy of his predecessors.[2] Murdach's journey was to no purpose.

Privileges.

It is impossible here to deal with all the relations between Eugenius and England. From all parts of the country petitions for favours were forwarded to him,[3] and cases of all kinds were laid before him. He approved of the rule for religious men and women drawn up by St. Gilbert of Sempringham, the only founder of an important religious order which has had its origin in this country;[4] and he had to intervene between bishop and

[1] *Ib.*, ann. 1151–2; *Hist. Pontif.*, c. 41. *Cf.* the biographies of Henry and William, ap. Dixon, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i. 210 ff.; and Vacandard, *Saint Bernard*, ii. 314 ff.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 200.

[3] Rochester, ep. 86; Westminster, ep. 90; Peterborough, 132-3; Abingdon, ep. 139, *cf.* Jaffé, 9567; St. Augustine's of Canterbury, ep. 144; Waverley, ep. 184; St. Mary's of Huntingdon, ep. 218; Christ Church, London, ep. 236; St. Giles' of Canewell in Staffordshire, ep. 287. *Cf.* epp. 458, 517–19; and Jaffé, 9367, 9371, 9428, 9432–3, 9466–7, 9503, 9537, 9546–7, 9591, 9611, 9644, 9645 (Whitby).

[4] It had been the original intention of Gilbert to place his monks and nuns under the care of the Cistercians; but when he went to Clairvaux to unfold his plan to them (1148), Pope Eugenius, who happened to be there, and the abbots of the order, would not entertain the idea, but bade him remain in charge of them himself ("sed ad imperium apostolici, et consilium sanctorum jussus est quod inchoaverat prosequi." *Cf.* his contemporary biographer, ap. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, p. xi after p. 945, vol. vi. pt. iii., London, 1830). The saint obeyed "the command of God and of his vicar the Pope—amplexatus est devote obedientiam Dei, ejusque vicarii papæ," and returned to England. He then drew up a rule for his new order, and submitted it to the Pope for confirmation; for, said he, there will be no room for anyone to cavil at it, if it be approved by the supreme pontiff—"quatinus omnis vox calumniæ auferretur, et securitas ea servantibus condonaretur, si summi pontificis fuerant communita consensu" (*ib.*, p. xiii). Eugenius granted the required confirmation, and his example was followed by Popes Hadrian IV. and Alexander III.—"misso

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archbishop, and between bishop and king. He decided, for instance, in favour of Archbishop Theobald, that Bernard, bishop of St. David's, was to be subject to Canterbury, and was not to be metropolitan of Wales;[1] and he begged Stephen to be content with the solemn assurance of Robert, bishop of London, that he would not injure him in his person or in his property, because he would not take the required oath of fealty.[2] Eugenius could the more readily appeal to Stephen for consideration, inasmuch as, though he refused to consent that his son Eustace should succeed him on the throne, he always, as we have seen, supported his own claims to the crown.

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

Scotland. The Culdees, their suppression in the twelfth century.

The care and authority which Eugenius exercised over the different countries that now compose the United Kingdom were not confined to England and Wales, but extended also to Scotland and Ireland.

In the seventh century the anchorites or hermits of Ireland came to be known as Ceile De, or worshippers of God. From Ireland these hermits found their way into Scotland in the following century, and were there known as Keledei or Culdees. In both countries "the worshippers of God" were brought under a canonical rule

privilegio suo quicquid sancitum fuerat a patre Gilberto de hiis quæ ad cultum religionis pertinent, decrevit æterna debere subsistere stabilitate" (*ib.*; *cf.* p. xxx). *Cf.* R. Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, London, 1901.

[1] See the documents in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 352 ff.; an. 1147. *Cf.* Newell, *A Hist. of the Welsh Ch.*, p. 184 f.

[2] Ep. 199, "Quia . . . cum animæ suæ salute, ac sui ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur astringi non potest, volumus," etc. *Cf.* ep. 200 to Stephen's queen to the same effect. On Robert's death Eugenius declared that one "clad with the habit of religion" must succeed him, and explained that that phrase designated any cleric whatsoever. *Cf. Hist. Pont.*, c. 44.

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such as that which had been instituted by St. Chrodegang. The result of this was that "in course of time the name of Culdee became almost synonymous with that of secular canons"; and in course of time also the various bodies of Culdees lost the spirit of their institution. "Special asceticism was the original character of the Keledean rule. Special laxity, after the natural course of monastic orders, . . . became their character by the twelfth century. But the particular Keledean laxity appears to have been that, precisely like their Irish and Welsh congeners, they generally lapsed into something like impropriators (to use the modern term), married, and transmitted their church endowments as if they had been their own to their children."[1] Full of the Cistercian zeal for reform, Eugenius did not fail to notice these abuses, but, co-operating with the rulers spiritual and temporal of Scotland, he contributed to that gradual suppression of their authors which was almost completed in this century. Hence we find him granting to the canons regular of St. Andrews, who had been established by Pope Lucius II., the right of electing the bishop of that see, which had formerly been possessed by the Culdees.[2] By one piece of adverse legislation after another, the Culdees were completely extinguished by the middle of the fourteenth century.[3]

Ireland. The legatine mission of John Paparo, 1150–3.

In the biography of Innocent II. attention was called to the efforts which St. Malachy and others were making to effect a reformation of manners in Ireland, and to the

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. p. 178.

[2] Ep. ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. p. 225 (an. 1147). *Cf.* the other three documents in connection with the same matter, *ib.*, p. 221 ff. The Culdees, note these authors, differed "in no way whatever from the doctrine or ordinary discipline of the then Church" in Ireland or Scotland. *Ib.*, p. 175 ff.

[3] On the question of the Culdees see especially Bellesheim, *Hist. of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, i., ch. vi. p. 174 ff., and p. 298 ff.

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petition which the Irish Church addressed to the Holy See that four palliums might be granted to it. Eugenius at length decided to accede to the request, and commissioned Cardinal John Paparo to take the palliums to Ireland (1150). But when the legate landed in England on his way thither, Stephen "refused to grant him a convoy unless he would give his promise that in this expedition he would compass nothing to the injury of the kingdom of England. Resenting this language, the cardinal returned to the Pope, and the Roman court was on this account ill-affected towards the king."[1]

The Irish, however, were not to be put off thus. They sent another embassy to push their views.[2] Their perseverance met with its reward. John was again despatched with the palliums, but on this occasion landed in a part of England where at that time Stephen had no power. The cardinal disembarked at Tynemouth in Northumberland, and found himself in territory under the control of King David of Scotland. "William, bishop of Durham, received him with great reverence," and "he was nobly entertained, and with him one of the Irish bishops,"[3] viz., Christian, bishop of Lismore. As soon as King David heard of his arrival, and that he wanted from him a convoy to Ireland, he sent his chancellor to escort him from Hexham to Carlisle, where he was awaiting him. On his arrival at that ancient and attractive city, "about the feast of St. Michael (September 29, 1151), the king and his son, Earl Henry, dutifully received him, and sought his favour by costly and devoted attentions."[4] By these adroit means they prevailed upon the legate to engage to obtain

[1] John of Hexham, an. 1152. *Cf. Hist. Pont.*, c. 2.

[2] "Nuntii regulorum et ecclesie Hibernensis jam altera vice redierant, ut legatum quem petierant, optinerent." *Hist. Pont.*, c. 36.

[3] J. of H., *l.c.* [4] *Ib.*

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from the Pope a pallium for St. Andrews, and that it should become the metropolitan church of Scotland, the Orkneys, and the adjacent isles. For, continues John of Salisbury, who gives us this insight into Scotch diplomacy, the Scots had declined to submit to the archbishop of York, to whom the Popes had subjected them, though they had often promised obedience to the see of Canterbury, if the Popes would have agreed to this arrangement.[1]

The synod of Kells, 1152.

After John and Christian, who was the ordinary "papal legate of all Ireland," had landed in that country a national synod was held at Kells, in the county of Meath, on March 9, 1152. At this council were present most of the bishops of Ireland, a great many abbots and inferior clergy, and a number of princes and nobles. With the consent of the whole assembly, over which John Paparo presided, it was decided "by pontifical authority" that the bishops of Ireland should be subjected to the four metropolitans of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam, for whom the cardinal had brought the palliums from Rome.[2] Various disciplinary canons against simony, etc., were also passed at the synod; and it was enacted that for the future the abbess of St. Brigit's should not take precedence over the bishops, as hitherto they had been wont to sit at her feet.[3] According to John of Hexham, the legate also "administered much correction to the Irish people, as they did not conform to the law of marriage."

[1] *H. P., l.c.*

[2] An important bull of Innocent III. (Feb. 25, 1215), preserved in the *Chartæ, Privilegia, etc.*, p. 15, published by the Irish record office, but which was unknown to Theiner, *Mon. Hibern.*, states that John was sent to fix the boundaries of the dioceses of Ireland: "ad informandas et limitandas Hibernienses Ecclesias."

[3] This curious decree has been preserved for us by John of Salisbury (*Hist. Pont.*, c. 36), who tells us that copies of the canons passed at this synod were kept both in Ireland, and in the archives of the Apostolic See, where he, no doubt, examined them himself.

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At the conclusion of the synod, the cardinal, we are told, gave his blessing to the assembled clergy, "and having accomplished the object of his mission (viz., especially the shaping of the Irish hierarchy into that form which it has practically retained ever since), returned after Easter (April 19) to King David." King Stephen also, continues the historian of Hexham Abbey, "repenting of his former want of courtesy, invited the cardinal to come to him, promising that he would atone for his previous offence."[1] But our northern historian does not say whether John gave Stephen an opportunity of making amends for his want of statecraft.

Scandinavia and Poland.

The question of the hierarchies in different countries was one to which Eugenius devoted special attention. We find him engaged in the delimitation of dioceses in Poland,[2] and, as we shall relate more at length in the *Life* of Hadrian IV., in the rearranging of metropolitical authority throughout the whole of Scandinavia.[3] Furthermore, the fact of his having consecrated an archbishop for Africa, "Africanum archiepiscopum,"[4] may be accepted as proof that he made one of the final efforts to save the expiring hierarchy of that once glorious member of the Church Catholic.

Death of Eugenius, July 8, 1153

The simple monk who, as Eugenius III., wrought all

[1] Ad an. 1153; *cf.* Robert de Monte, ad an. 1151. On the synod of Kells, which, by the way, some of our authorities say was held at the monastery of Mellifont in Armagh, see the contemporary author cited by Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 425, and by Labbe, *Conc.*, x. p. 1130. *Cf.* also Brennan, *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 230 f.

[2] Ep. 238, April 4, 1148. On other Polish affairs, *cf.* epp. 319, 376, Jan. 23, 1150. Especially through Henry, bishop of Moravia, Eugenius had much to say to another Slavonic people, viz., to the Bohemians. *Cf.* epp. 17, 28–30, 104, 114, 118–9, 121, 142, 340–1, 362, 444. Ep. 461 to Andrew, archbishop of Ragusa, shows his interest in the Slavs of Dalmatia.

[3] *Cf.* the councils of Nidaros (?) and Linköping, held in 1152 by Nicholas Breakspear.

[4] Jaffé, *sub* 9291.

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these works, died, as already said, in the year 1153; and will ever claim from posterity the praise bestowed upon him by his contemporaries, whether our countrymen or his own. He was a man, says Roger of Hoveden, "worthy of the highest dignity of the Papacy. His mind was always kindly disposed, his discretion always to be relied on, his countenance always not only cheerful, but even joyous."[1] A contemporary canon of St. John Lateran, Nicholas Maniacutius, shows his good opinion of the Pope by expressing the hope that he may live as long as he wishes, and then ascend to heaven.[2] Writing to St. Bernard, and incidentally observing that he had often seen the Pope not only in Rome but in various places in France, and both in public with prelates and even with the "Roman Senate, and in private," Peter the Venerable declared that in the mobile face of Eugenius "there shone forth a truly apostolic vigour." In no one, he continued, had he ever found a truer friend, a more trustworthy brother, or a more tender father. "His ears are ever ready to listen, and his tongue is ever quick and capable in retort. But he speaks not as a superior to an inferior, but rather as an equal to an equal, or even as an inferior to a superior. In him there was no arrogance, no haughtiness, nor assumption of majesty; but justice,[3] humility, and reason claimed the whole man for themselves." What was asked of him he granted, or so refused that no ill-feeling was possible.

"Immediately after his death," writes another contem-

[1] *Chron.*, an. 1145. *Cf.* Robert de Monte, "He was a very devout man, bountiful in his almsgiving, just in his decisions, affable and pleasant to all, as well the poor as the rich." *Chron.*, an. 1152.

[2] "Donec vult vivat, demum super astra levetur." See his metrical rhyming list of the Popes, printed among other places ap. Ralph de Diceto, *Abbrev. Chron.*, i. p. 262, R. S.

[3] Ep. vi. 46, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189, p. 465 ff. "Nihil fastus, nihil dominium, nihil majestas; sed totum sibi hominem æquitas, totum humilitas, totum ratio vendicabant."

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porary,[1] "there appeared miracles at his tomb, which was erected with splendour in the Church of Blessed Peter." This, together with his saintly and amiable life, will explain why his name appears in the Cistercian calendar of the saints of the order, and why Pius IX. numbered him among *the Blessed*, December 28, 1872.

[1] Robert de M., *l.c.* See a list of these miracles written down by an eye-witness, ap. *P. L.*, t. 180, p. 1009 ff.

Leaden Bulla of Eugenius III.

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Per fess, in chief, Or, two lions rampant affrontes vert, in base Bendy or and vair. Over all a fess gules.

ANASTASIUS IV.

A.D. 1153–1154.

Sources.—For our knowledge of this pontiff we are dependent upon a biography of a few lines by Boso, and a few brief notices in various chroniclers, among others in Robert of Torigni, or de Monte. Born in the former place, he became a monk of Bec (1128), and finally prior, and then abbot (1154) of Mont St. Michel (St. Michael's-in-peril-of-the-sea). He was in communication with many of the most important men of his age, and travelled to England in one direction, and as far as Rome in another. His chronicle, which is ranked as a continuation of that of Sigebert of Gemblours, and was carried down by him to the year of his death (†1186), is throughout substantially accurate, and its author is regarded as one of the best annalists of the twelfth century. It has been well edited ap. *M. G. SS.*, vi. (reproduced in the *P. L.*, t. 160), and ap. Howlett's *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, etc.*, iv., R. S. (1890). Stevenson in the "Church Historians of England" series has translated it into English.

The Register of Anastasius has perished, but the Abbé Migne has collected eighty-seven of his letters, nearly all privileges (ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 989 ff.). The *Regesta* of Jaffé, however, proves that a much greater number of documents were issued by the Papal chancellary during the brief reign of Anastasius IV. One or two of the original bulls of Anastasius are still extant, with their

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attachments of brown silk (ep. 84) or of yellow cord (ep. 5, *cordula flavi coloris*) still fastened to them.[1]

Contemporary sovereigns, see under Eugenius III., p. 126.

Conrad before he became Pope.

THE successor of Eugenius III. was Conrad, cardinal-bishop of Sabina, the Pope's vicar in Rome, a man distinguished by his fearless loyalty to Innocent II., and "of great weight with the Romans,"[2] but old and infirm.[3] He was the son of one Benedict, and was a native of Rome, having been born in the populous district of the Subura, which occupied the valley between the Esquiline, Quirinal, and Viminal hills.[4] When he became a cardinal-priest is not known,[5] but he seems to have been consecrated cardinal-bishop of Sabina by Honorius II. in 1126, and is said to have been the nephew of that pontiff.[6] At any rate, he was certainly bishop of Sabina in 1130, and in that capacity was one of the principal promoters of the election of Innocent II., who, when he betook himself to France, left Conrad in the then dangerous position of his vicar in Rome.[7] As papal vicar in the city he performed those functions which were exercised by the Pope as the diocesan *ordinary* of Rome.[8]

[1] *Cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 168 n.

[2] Rob. de M., an. 1152.

[3] Gerhoh, *Comment. in Psal. lxv.*, p. 493, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. John of Hexham, an. 1154, calls him "a very old man." "Anastasio, homini veterano et in consuetudine illius curiae exercitato, sedem reliquit (Eugenius)." Otto Fris., *Gesta Frid.*, ii. c. 10.

[4] Boso. The name of the Pope's father, apparently not known to Boso at the time of his writing his notice of Anastasius, has been preserved by the fifteenth-century edition of the *L. P.*, ed. Duchesne, ii. 449.

[5] "Prius presbyter cardinalis, deinde episcopus Sabinensis." Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, an. 1153.

[6] Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronol.*, p. 1183.

[7] Boso, *in vit. Inn. II.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. p. 380 f.

[8] Conradus "apostolice sedis in urbe dumtaxat in agendis episcopalibus, dum papa deest, ex antiqua consuetudine, pro dignitate loci sui vicarius." Rob. de M., *ib.*

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Elected Pope by common consent,[1] on the day of his predecessor's death, he was consecrated on Sunday July 12, 1153. The reign of Anastasius IV., for such is the name by which the new Pontiff was known, was too short to enable him to do much to make his name great among the Popes, even if he had not been too old to turn his experience to good account. But he reigned long enough to incur the blame of the holy nun Hildegard[2] for "neglecting justice" and of the historian Otto of Frising for showing himself too complacent to Frederick, and thus furnishing fuel to the arbitrary will of that potentate.

Pope, July 12, 1153.

Eugenius III. had resisted the translation, without his consent, of Wichmann (Guicmann), bishop of Naumburg, to Magdeburg by Frederick's influence;[3] and when Anastasius succeeded him he sent Cardinal Gerard to adjudicate on the affair. The cardinal, it appears, was not a diplomatist. He seems to have been wanting in tact or in manners; or perhaps it was simply that he failed where anyone else in similar circumstances would have failed. At any rate the king roughly bade him begone,[4] and the unfortunate envoy's want of success was completed by his death on his return journey.

Wichmann of Naumburg.

Frederick now in turn sent an embassy to Rome, adding Wichmann himself to their number. Perhaps because the death of his legate left Anastasius imperfectly informed, he approved of the bishop's translation to the archiepiscopal

[1] *Ann. Cecanenses*, an. 1153, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

[2] Anastasius had written to her asking to see her writings, as he would like to advance in virtue but was, he said, hindered by weariness of body and mind. The nun spared not the pontiff's patriarchal age, but plainly told him that "he neglected justice." But "he who sits in the principal chair of the Lord" must arouse himself, and save his flock. Ep. 2 of Hildegard, which contains as usual the Pope's letter, and her answer to it; ap. *P. L.*, t. 197.

[3] Otto, *Gesta Frid.*, ii. 6, 8.

[4] *Ib.* ii. 10. "Mandatis sevioribus inglorie redire coactus."

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see of Magdeburg, and gave him the pallium. This action of the Pope, says the episcopal chronicler, caused much scandal to many, inasmuch as they had heard from many of those in authority at Rome that these concessions would never be made. Frederick himself evidently felt that he had gained a victory over the Papacy, for in his letter to Otto, which that historian has prefixed to his story of his king, he says: "We transferred Bishop Wichmann to the archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg, and although this caused considerable controversy between us and the Roman Church, at length what we had well done (*laudabiliter*) was confirmed by apostolic authority." But while the king rejoiced at his success others grieved at it, as they observed that, after it, "the authority of the sovereign greatly increased not merely in matters secular, but also in ecclesiastical affairs."[1]

Anastasius not devoid of character.

It is not necessary to conclude from this incident that the character of Anastasius was as weak as his body. The brief records of his short reign put him before us on several occasions as a man of firm purpose. In a letter to the archbishop of Bourges he informs him of a complaint which has been lodged against him, and gives him a peremptory order to make satisfaction if the facts are as stated. If he has to write again he will take such steps that the archbishop will in future be anxious enough "to carry out the commands given him by the Roman Pontiff."[2] We know also that he opposed the revolutionary schemes of Arnold of Brescia;[3] and he endeavoured to thwart the ambition of Octavian Maledictus,[4] the cardinal of St. Cecily, whom we have seen denounced by John of Salisbury for

[1] Otto, *ib.*

[2] Ep. 11.

[3] "Pro cujus (Arnold) expulsione . . . Eugenius et Anastasius . . . plurimum laboraverunt." Boso, *in vit. Adr. IV.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 389.

[4] *Ib.* p. 391. "Jam spirans seditionis et scismatis."

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his rapacity, and who, by his opposition to Alexander III., was to cause so much trouble in the Church. Alluding to the cardinal's surname (Maledictus, accursed), Anastasius is said to have once addressed him thus indignantly and prophetically: "Never, son of the excommunicated and accursed one (Maledicti), never will you wear that papal mantle, which you so ardently desire and so shamelessly seek, except to thine own confusion, and to the ruin of many."[1]

York and Durham.

It fell to the lot of Anastasius to restore peace to the Church in the north of England, which had been much distracted by the difficulties attending the elections of Henry Murdach to the see of York,[2] and of Hugh to the see of Durham. There died about the same time the three principal opponents of William, the deposed archbishop of York, viz., Eugenius III., St. Bernard (August 20, 1153), and Murdach (October 14, 1153), and the predominant Cistercian influence in the whole Church, and in the north of England, came to an end. As soon as the death of the Pope and that of the abbot were known, William, "conceiving a hope of his restoration, went hastily to Rome, not arraigning the decision against him, but humbly craving pity. . . And behold," continues William of Newburgh, whom we are here citing, "an authentic account arriving from England of the demise of the archbishop of York, greatly assisted his very humble petition. . . . At length . . . he experienced the clemency of the apostolic kindness, . . . for the Pope and cardinals pitied his grey hairs; and Gregory, a cardinal in high esteem, . . . took a very active part in his behalf. Wherefore, being completely reinstated,

[1] Boso, *in vit. Alex. III.*, ap. *ib.*, ii. 399. "Fili Maledicti . . . numquam habebis istum papalem mantum quem tantum desideras . . . nisi in tuam confusionem."

[2] See the biography of Eugenius III.

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and honoured with the pallium,"[1] he returned to England only to die within a few weeks after having taken possession of his archdiocese (June, 1154).

Pope Anastasius also did honour to another of those to whom Henry Murdach of York was opposed. In January 1153 there had been duly elected to the see of Durham Hugh de Pinset, nephew of King Stephen, a man whose splendid appearance was a harbinger of the magnificent manner in which he was destined to rule his see (1153–1197). His election was, however, opposed by the severe archbishop of York, to whom belonged the right of consecrating the bishop of Durham. He alleged the candidate's 'uncanonical age and the lightness of his character."[2] The dispute soon became acute, though Hugh himself took no part in it, and the clergy of Durham, "seeing that the archbishop enjoyed the Pope's favour, did not venture to call to their support either the king or anyone else."[3] At length, however, the question was referred to Rome. Hugh went thither himself, "furnished with recommendations from Archbishop Theobald and other persons of high estimation in England,"[4] while Henry Murdach "sent his proxy to oppose the election and prevent the consecration." When the disputants reached Rome, they found that Eugenius had been succeeded by Anastasius. The death of Hugh's opponents smoothed the way for him as it presently did for Archbishop William, and he was consecrated by the Pope himself (December 20, 1153).[5]

[1] *Hist.*, i. c. 26. *Cf.* Rob. de Monte, *Chron.*, an. 1153 ; Ralph de Diceto, *Ymag. Hist.*, an. 1154, ed. R. S., i. 297–8.

[2] Will. of N., *Hist.*, i. 26.

[3] John of Hexham, *Hist.*, ad an. 1154.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] Besides the authorities already adduced, *cf.* additions to the History of Simeon of Durham given by Stevenson (pp. 730 and 756) in his translation of Simeon's works. *Cf.* Jaffé, 9779, for an offer of an

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The Pope's other relations with England.

We shall here pass over this Pope's other relations with England, as they are not of sufficient importance to detain us, *e.g.*, his grants of privileges to monasteries,[1] his intervention in a dispute between an archdeacon and the prior of Ely,[2] and his letter to Archbishop Theobald concerning the punishment of those who had seized certain clerics on their way to Rome.[3]

Anastasius as a builder and a benefactor to churches and to the poor.

Notwithstanding his short reign of under two years, Anastasius found time, in the midst of his care for Christendom and for the poor,[4] to be a builder. The official palace of the Lateran was not the only papal residence in Rome at this period. From time to time the Popes had built other palaces in the city, and Anastasius added to their number. The spot he chose for his "new palace" was hard by the Pantheon, S. Maria Rotunda, as it was then called. It is hard to imagine why he selected this low-lying site, constantly liable even in these days to be flooded by any rise of the Tiber. Whatever may have caused him to build his new residence in that unfavourable position, the palace cannot have been a very imposing building, as he seems to have been occupying it as early as October 1153.[5]

It was during the pontificate of Anastasius that the famous Arabian geographer, Edrisi (1099–1180) dedicated to Roger II. of Sicily (1154) his geographical work known as *The Book of Roger* (Al Rojari). What he had heard or seen in his travels of the position and virtues of the

indulgence (quadraginta dies injunctæ pœnitentiæ indulget) by the Pope to the people of Durham on condition of their helping those who served the Church of St. Cuthbert.

[1] Jaffé, 9736 (Malmesbury); 9797 (Melsa, in Yorkshire).

[2] *Ib.*, 9744, 9745.

[3] *Ib.*, 9839.

[4] Epp. 67, 83 show his thought for the poor and those who served them.

[5] Boso *in vit.* *Cf.* Jaffé, 9750 ff., where letters are given as dated "apud S. Mariam Rotundam."

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Popes, and perhaps what he may have heard in particular of the palace-building of Eugenius III. and his successor, evidently made a great impression on the Oriental imagination of Mohammed Edrisi. Amongst many extraordinary stories which he tells of Rome, as, for instance, that its streets were paved with white and blue marble, and that the bottom of that portion of the Tiber which flowed through the city was paved with copper, he says: "Rome is one of the columns of Christianity and the seat of a patriarch. . . . In the city . . . there is a palace of the Sovereign, who is called the Pope. No one is superior to him in power, the Kings are subject to him, and consider him equal to the Creator. He governs with equity, redresses injustices, aids the weak and the poor, and protects the oppressed against the oppressors. His decrees have force over all the Kings of the Romans (of Europe), and none of them can oppose him."[1]

The historian of the Lateran basilica, John the Deacon, who often stood by the side of Pope Anastasius, tells us that this Pope, even whilst he was only bishop of Sabina, had a very special love for the great church about which he was writing. Not only did Anastasius love the basilica itself, but those who served it; and we find him issuing privileges in favour of its canons, and granting them, amongst other property, the chapel of St. Gregory in Marcio with the palace in which it was situated and the buildings appertaining to it.[2] Both before and after he became Pope, he also bestowed upon it valuable plate and vestments.[3]

[1] Quoted by Curtis, *Roger of Sicily*, p. 317 f. *Cf.* Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, iii. 531 ff. The text of Edrisi may be seen ap. Jaubert, *Rec. des Voyages*, Paris, 1836.

[2] John, *De eccles. Lat.*, c. 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1387. *Cf.* Boso and ep. 29. The chapel, now called S. Maria Imperatrice, still stands in the Via S. Giovanni in Laterano.

[3] *Ib.*

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The supposed Sarcophagus of St. Helena, Mother of Constantine, afterwards used as the Tomb of Anastasius IV.
From Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome*.

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The original entry into the baptistery of the Lateran was through the apse or portico which projects from one of its octagonal sides. In this apsidal *atrium* or portico, which he converted into a chapel, the cardinal-bishop of Sabina erected an altar over the bodies of SS. Rufina and Secunda, which he had himself discovered. He must have had some skill in the work of the archæologist; for, as John the Deacon narrates, he made systematic excavations to find their sacred remains, and in the course of them also discovered the bodies of the famous martyrs SS. Cyprian and Justina. He placed the relics of these saints, on the history of whose lives rest the various stories of Faust, in a marble sarcophagus, and placed it beneath another altar which he himself had consecrated in the same portico. After he became Pope apparently he also consecrated the altar he had built over the bodies of SS. Rufina and Secunda "in the presence of us all, of the canons of the Lateran basilica, and of a great many people from the city and from elsewhere."[1] This altar is on the right of the chapel as you enter it, being directly opposite to the altar over the remains of SS. Cyprian and Justina.

Death and tomb of Anastasius.

The archæological tastes of Anastasius led him to select for himself a very special tomb. According to various ancient authorities, St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, was buried in a tomb on the Via Labicana, once called *ad duas Lauros*, but now *Torre Pignattara* from the earthen vases (*pignatte*) built into the vaulted roof to lessen its weight. The body of the empress rested in a huge sarcophagus of porphyry, which was covered with large bas-reliefs of Roman horse-soldiers prancing in the air, and trampling on a number of prisoners, and was more remarkable, like the times in which it was made, for show than for real artistic beauty. The remains of the body of

[1] *Ib.*, c. 12.

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St. Helena seem to have been placed in the porphyry urn which is now beneath the altar of the chapel dedicated to her in the east transept of the Church of S. Maria in Ara Cœli;[1] at any rate, Anastasius took possession of the sarcophagus, and had it transferred to the Lateran basilica to serve as a tomb for himself. He placed it near the altar of Our Lady *de Reposo*, at the end of the northern aisle, *i.e.*, close to the entrance of the present Orsini chapel.[2]

When Anastasius died (December 3, 1154), his body was placed in this immense tomb. "It appears to have been much injured by the hands of indiscreet pilgrims, . . . (and) when Pius VI. added it to the wonders of the Vatican Museum, it was subjected to a thorough process of restoration which employed twenty-five stone-cutters for a period of nine years."[3]

[1] *Cf.* Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 544. Where the relics are now does not appear to be known.

[2] John the Deacon, *ib.*, p. 1387. *Cf.* Boso.

[3] Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 197 f.

Leaden Bulla of Anastasius IV.

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Gules, a lance argent rompu rebated reversed and bent in pale.[1]

HADRIAN IV.

A.D. 1154–1159.

Sources.—The most important authority for the *Life* of Hadrian IV. is the biography of the Englishman Boso. As he tells us himself, he was appointed by his papal fellow-countryman, at the very beginning of his pontificate, his *camerarius* (treasurer), and was at the same time made cardinal-deacon of the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. He remained "constantly and intimately attached to his benefactor till his death." Boso's connection with the papal finances appears to have led him to make the first attempt at a *Liber Censuum* or register of the different sources of the papal revenues.[2] As we have already seen, he wrote a number of papal biographies, of which the best two are his *Lives* of Hadrian and his successor Alexander III., with both of whom he acted in many of the events he describes. Though he adopted the inartistic style of the early papal biographers, even to the extent of delineating the character of Hadrian in terms used by the writers of the seventh and eighth centuries, he is generally regarded as at least accurate in what he does say. He may at times have deliberately omitted what did not tell so strongly in his patron's

[1] These arms are probably really those of Cardinal Boso, who is said to have been Hadrian's nephew, as it is not likely that Hadrian himself had arms. Frassoni, p. 16.

[2] *Cf. L. P.*, ii. p. xlii ff.

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favour, but he never advanced that which was not true.[1] Boso's *Life* of Hadrian IV. may be read in the *L. P.* (ii. p. 388 ff.), or in Watterich, ii. 323 ff. He would appear to have died not long after March 1178.

Favourable to Hadrian is the Milanese contemporary narrative of the war between Milan and Frederick I., which used to be ascribed to a certain Sire Raoul or Radulph (ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.), but is now edited as *Libellus tristicie et doloris*, and forms the first part of the *Annales Mediolanenses* in the *M. G. SS.*, xviii. Just as favourable, on the contrary, to Frederick were Otto of Frising (*De gestis Friderici I.*), and his much inferior continuator Rahewinus (Rahewin), or, much less accurately, Radevicus, one of his canons. Otto's narrative ends in 1156; that of Rahewin in 1160.

Very different in partisanship to any of the preceding writers were the lawyers of Lodi, Otto Morena and his son Acerbus. These legal sycophants[2] have in their history of their native town given us an account of Frederick's doings in Italy. Otto's portion of the *Historia Rerum Laudensium* (ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi., or *M. G. SS.*, xviii.) goes down to 1162, while that of his son, which is perhaps not quite so servile in its flattery of the emperor, reaches to the year of his death (†1167). The works of Godfrey of Viterbo (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii., or *R. I. SS.*, vii.), and the poem of Gunther (ap. *P. L.*, t. 212), which were written towards the close of the twelfth century, and of which mention has already been made, are of no great value.

Of the documents which originally emanated from Hadrian's chancellary, the Abbé Migne (*P. L.*, t. 188) has collected 258, to which he has added three from others to the Pope; but the

[1] "Especially for the study of the history of Rome itself, he appears to us worthy of more attention than he has hitherto received, as enabling us to correct the exaggerations of the imperial partisans too exclusively followed by some modern historians." Balzani, *Early Chroniclers of Italy*, 205.

[2] Allowing for Otto's natural attachment to the sovereign who had refounded Lodi, destroyed by the Milanese (1111), Freeman is fully justified in saying, "We soon get wearied of the *sanctissimus*, the *dulcissimus*, the *Christianissimus*, and the whole string of superlatives which Otto delights to attach to every mention of the imperial name." *Historical Essays* (first series), p. 263.

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Regesta of Jaffé proves that the lost register of Hadrian contained at least more than twice that number. The motto he used in his letters was, "Oculi mei semper ad dominum."

Modern Works.—Several useful works have appeared in our language which treat of the only English Pope. There is first the small book of the Catholic, Richard Raby, *Pope Adrian IV.: an Historical Sketch*, London, 1849; and then there are by non-Catholic writers: (1) the fine illustrated quarto volume by A. H. Tarleton, *Nicholas Breakspear, Englishman and Pope*, London, 1896; and (2) the Lothian Essay, 1907, by J. D. Mackie, *Pope Adrian IV.*, Oxford and London, 1907. In the *Dublin Review*, vol. 130, 1902, p. 77 ff., is a valuable paper entitled "The English Pope," by the Very Rev. L. C. Casartelli, now bishop of Salford, which will serve to correct certain inaccuracies in Tarleton's work. The little book in St. Nicholas' series, *The Story of the English Pope*, by F. M. Steele, London, 1908, is very readable.

Much has been written on and around Hadrian's famous "bull" *Laudabiliter* concerning Ireland. In vol. 185 (1883) of the *Dublin Review* (July, p. 83 ff.), Abbot Gasquet wrote an article, "Adrian IV. and Ireland," against the authenticity of the *bull*. It was followed in the same periodical (April 1884, p. 316 ff.) by an article in support of the *bull* by the Rev. A. Sylvester Malone. Also in favour of the *bull* wrote Miss Kate Norgate, *English Historical Review*, vol. viii., 1893, p. 18 ff.; Father Thurston, *The Month*, 1906, 415 ff.; G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, 1169–1216, 2 vols., Oxford, 1911 (a valuable work [1]); while strongly against its authenticity are articles by J. H. Round, *The Commune of London*, p. 171 ff., Westminster, 1899; and O. J. Thatcher, *Studies concerning Adrian IV.*, Chicago, 1903. *Pope Adrian IV., a Friend of Ireland*, Dublin, 1906, is a translation from a most verbose and preposterous article in French which originally appeared in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii* against the *bull*.

Very useful for the biography of Hadrian are "Frederick the First,

[1] The same author has published an important contemporary document concerning the invasion of Ireland, viz., the French poem entitled "The Song of Dermot and the Earl." Orpen treats of the document *Laudabiliter* in vol. i. c. 9, p. 287 ff.

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King of Italy," an essay by E. A. Freeman in his *Historical Essays*, 1st series, London, 1871, p. 252 ff.; Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I. in Sicilia*, Palermo, 1885; Stubbs, Lectures VI. and VII. in his *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*, Oxford, 1887; Mrs. J. R. Green, *Henry the Second*, London, 1903.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Emperor of the Romans.	King of England.	Eastern Emperor.	King of France.
Frederick I., Barbarossa, 1152–1190.	Henry II., 1154–1189.	Manuel I., Comnenus, 1143–1180.	Louis VII., the Young, 1137–1180.

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The traditional site of the birthplace of Hadrian IV.
(From a photograph.)

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CHAPTER I.

NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR OR BREKESPERE.

Birthplace and family of Breakspear.

ABOUT the beginning of the twelfth century there was born into the world near the old Roman municipium of Verulamium (close to St. Albans in Hertfordshire) one who was destined to become one of the most distinguished of Rome's rulers. At that time, among the many dependencies of the famous Benedictine Abbey of St. Albans, was a village called, because it belonged to the monastery, Abbot's Langley,[1] to distinguish it from the adjoining King's Langley. Now, in the parish of Abbot's Langley, "on the outskirts of the hamlet of Bedmond," is a small building known as Breakspear's farm, which is believed to be built on the site of the house where Nicholas first saw the light.[2] The building, which stands at the foot of a gentle declivity of a hill, is now divided into two or three cottage dwellings, is of brick, and is comparatively modern, "though portions of the interior seem to be older than the outside walls."

The family-seat of the Breakspears.

It seems equally probable that the family-seat of the Breakspears, whence they derived their name, was at *Breakspears*, in the parish of Harefield, in Middlesex. The fine

[1] North of Watford in Hertfordshire.

[2] It is Matthew Paris, the author of the first twenty-three of the *Vitæ Abbatum S. Albani*, an. 1511, i. p. 112 f., R. S., who says that Nicholas was born in some dependency of the great abbey of St. Albans, "to wit, Langley." Roger of Wendover (†1237), *Flores Hist.*, an. 1154, also says he was "born on the domains of St. Alban's abbey." The authority of Boso, "de castro St Albani," is decisive on the matter.

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residence of Commander Tarleton, Hadrian's modern biographer, which now bears that name, and which occupies the site of the original house, is situated on the edge of the plateau on which stands the parish of Harefield, and is sheltered by the brow of the hill which slopes down to the fertile valley of the sedgy Colne. It stands in the midst of a gently undulating country, even now so well wooded, especially with the tall elm, as to appear a forest. Being on the border of Hertfordshire, at the point where the Colne enters Middlesex, it is within comparatively easy distance of the place where Nicholas was born.[1] Records show that a family named Brekespere or Breakspear lived here in 1317, and the records of a neighbouring house (Moor Hall) "mention the name at an earlier date still. . . . The house remained in possession of this family till 1430,"[2] and the recorded Christian names of its members include Adrian, Nicholas, and Robert.

If it be the fact that Robert Breakspear, the father of the future Pope, was a younger brother of the Breakspear family,[3] then his leaving the paternal mansion at Breakspears for Abbot's Langley, and his comparative poverty, are easily accounted for. He had at least one more son besides Nicholas,[4] and if he did not survive his illustrious child, it is certain that his brother and mother did, and that after Nicholas' death the old age of his mother was spent in pain and want.[5]

[1] Tarleton, p. 10 ff.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 16. In the *Liber Rubeus de Scaccario*, a document of the year 1166 shows a certain "Gilbertus Brekespere" holding a knight's fee. I. p. 317, R. S.

[3] It is so stated by the late chronicler Stowe (†1605), *Chronicle*, p. 150.

[4] John of Salisb., *Metalogicus*, iv. 42.

[5] *Ib.* Ep. 134 (an. 1164–5), ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 114. Hadrian "cujus mater apud vos algore torquetur et inedia."

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Nicholas attends and is driven from the abbey of St. Albans.

Unfortunately, the historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have said very little about the youth of Nicholas, and what they do say is not always quite consistent. In what follows so much will be given from other early writers as can be reconciled with the statements of William of Newburgh, an author strictly contemporary with Hadrian.[1] William proposes to tell how Nicholas "was lifted, as it were, from the dust, to sit in the midst of princes, and to occupy the throne of apostolical glory." Tired at length of the world, Nicholas' father, Robert Breakspear, "a clerk[2] of slender means," with his wife's consent, became a monk of St. Albans. It was his thought that Nicholas should in due course join him in the monastery, and it is more than likely that when he entered it, he arranged that the youth should in the meantime be brought up at its expense.[3] However, when the time came for Nicholas to be accepted by the abbot, or when the youth, thinking that it had come, asked to be received as a monk, he was met with a refusal. Whether he had been lazy, or his mind was slow in developing, the worthy abbot bade him have patience, and stay at school

[1] William was born at Newburgh (Yorkshire) in 1136, †1208. His account of Nicholas is to be found in his *Historia Anglicana*, ii. 6.

[2] Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Hist.*, an. 1161, ed. R. S., ii. p. 305, states more definitely: "Nicholaus . . . ex patre presbitero." The Emperor Frederick also at one time talked of deposing Hadrian on the ground of his being the son of a priest, "opponens ei quod esset filius sacerdotis," says Innocent III., ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 1029. But Mat. Paris, who, in his *Vitæ*, *l.c.*, pp. 124–5, calls the father "Robert de Camera," says he was a layman before he entered the monastery.

[3] Will. of N. writes: "When grown, the son, being too poor to pay for his education, frequented this monastery for his daily subsistence." *Cf.* Mat. P., *Vitæ*, *l.c.*, who says: "Wishing to bring his son, the memorable Nicholas, into the cloister as clerk and scholar, Robert besought the abbot in his behalf. . . . The abbot conceded the request on condition that Nicholas should prove worthy."

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till he was better fitted for the calling to which he aspired. At the same time the young postulant had to endure the bitter taunts of his father, who upbraided him with his indolence, and drove him from the abbey.[1]

Nicholas in France.

Thus "left to himself, and urged by hard necessity to attempt something, he went to France, ingenuously ashamed," says the Yorkshire canon, "either to dig or to beg in England."

For some time the youthful scholar appears to have studied at Paris with great success (*c.* 1125); to have had as a master one Marianus, of whom in after life as Pope he spoke with great affection;[2] and to have made the acquaintance of John of Salisbury.

Nicholas in Provence.

"Succeeding but indifferently in France . . . he wandered beyond the Rhone into Provence,"[3] and from one place to another in that interesting district. He is credited by Ciacconius, who professes to be quoting Pope Gregory IX. (1227–1241),[4] with having stayed some time as a poor clerk at the Church of St. James at Melgorium in the diocese of Maguelonne, afterwards Montpellier. He also studied for a while at Arles,[5] and finally settled down at

[1] M. Paris and Will. of N., *ll.cc.*

[2] Casartelli, p. 81, citing a chronicle of the *Irish* (it should be Scotch) monks at Ratisbon. *Cf. Gesta*, p. 112 f.

[3] Will. of N., *l.c.*

[4] *Vitæ RR. PP.*, i. 555, ed. Rome, 1630. The same assertion is made by the fourteenth-century papal biographers Bernard Guido (*R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i. p. 441) and Amalricus Augerius (ap. *ib.*, pt. ii. p. 371) in their *Lives* of Hadrian. Ciacconius died in 1601. There is a strong tradition in the Norbertine or Premonstratensian order that Nicholas was for a time a student (*alumnus*) in one of their houses. If this Church of St. James, about which nothing seems to be known, belonged to the White Canons, their tradition would be much strengthened. *Cf.* Casartelli, p. 81 ff.

[5] "Pervenit Arelate, ubi dum in scolis vacaret," etc. Boso. The sole reason alleged by that author for Nicholas' leaving England was for the purposes of study: "ut in literarum studio proficeret."

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the monastery of St. Rufus near Avignon, which, when Pope, he himself transferred to Valence, and which belonged to a local order of canons regular. In that monastery he assumed their habit,[1] and "as he was elegant in person, pleasant in countenance, prudent in speech, and of ready obedience, he gained the favour of all . . . and for many years was the most exact observer of regular discipline."[2]

He becomes abbot of St. Rufus.

The English historian who thus describes Nicholas as he was in the cloisters of St. Rufus, then proceeds to narrate the events which terminated in his being made a cardinal: "As he was of excellent abilities, and fluent in speech, he attained by frequent and unremitted study, to great science and eloquence; hence it came to pass that, on the death of the abbot (William II., 1137), the brethren unanimously and formally elected him their superior. After he had presided over them for some time, repentant and indignant at having elected a foreigner to rule over them, they became faithless and hostile to him. Their hatred, by degrees, became so excessive that they now looked angrily at him in whom they had before been well pleased; and at length they instituted charges against him, and summoned him before the apostolical see. Eugenius, of pious memory, . . . when he heard the complaints of these rebellious children against their father, and perceived the prudence and modesty of his defence, interposed his effectual labours for the restoration of peace . . . and dismissed them in amity. Malice, however, which knows no repose, could not be long at rest, and the tempest revived with redoubled fury. The same venerable pontiff was again disturbed (1146?) . . . Piously and prudently regarding each party, he said: 'I know, my brethren,

[1] *Ib.* [2] Will. of N., *l.c.*

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where the seat of Satan is; I know what excites this storm among you. Depart! choose a superior with whom you may, or rather with whom you will, be at peace, for this one shall burthen you no longer.'

Nicholas becomes cardinal-bishop of Albano.

"Wherefore, dismissing the fraternity, and retaining the abbot in the service of St. Peter, he ordained him bishop of Albano."[1] This must have been before January 30, 1150, as his signature (Ego Nicolaus Albanensis episcopus subscri.) appears in papal documents on and after that date till he went to Norway. In all probability he was the second English cardinal, as the first known one, Robert Pulleyn, sometime chancellor of the Apostolic See,[2] did not die till the year 1150. And so it came to pass, as old Fuller quaintly notes, "that he, who was refused to be Monachus Albanensis in England, became Episcopus Albanensis in Italy." He had exchanged the white robes and sash of a canon of St. Rufus for the purple and fine linen of a cardinal.

The mission to Scandinavia, 1152–4.

When in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries the Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden began to take shape politically and ecclesiastically, they were not content till they had freed themselves from spiritual dependence on an archbishop of the Empire, viz., the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. And when, in the beginning of the twelfth century, Pope Paschal placed

[1] Will. of N., *l.c.* Stevenson's translation is used here as elsewhere. Boso simply says that Nicholas went to Rome on the business of his abbey, and that when it was finished, Eugenius kept him in Rome. In the reticence of Boso, who would draw his information directly or indirectly from Hadrian himself, we have proof of the forgiving nature of the English Pope. He evidently never spoke of the unkind treatment he received either from his father in England or from his brethren in Provence; but, when he became Pope, he thought only of granting favours to his former monastic brethren. *Cf.* Jaffé, 10030, 10399, 10533, 10556, 10571.

[2] John of Hexham, *Hist.*, ad an., 1147.

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them under the archbishopric of Lund, then Norway and Sweden began to besiege Rome with petitions that they might have archbishops of their own. To put an end to this state of unrest, Eugenius commissioned Cardinal Nicholas, precisely because he was an Englishman,[1] to proceed to the North to rearrange the whole Scandinavian hierarchy. As the conversion of Norway and Sweden had been largely effected by missionaries from England, Eugenius felt that Nicholas would be welcomed by them. The cardinal accordingly left Rome about March 1152, and once more returned to his native land. There is reason to believe that both his father and mother were still living when he became Pope, so that it may be presumed that he saw them both on this occasion. From England he sailed to Norway,[2] where he found the whole country in confusion.

After the murder of Harald Gille-Krist (1136), who was the servant (*gille*) of Christ in nothing but name, Norway was kept in a ferment by the adverse claims of his three sons, Sigurd of the Mouth (Mund), Inge the Humpback, and Eystein. Throwing the weight of his influence in favour of Inge, "whom he called his son," Nicholas brought about a reconciliation between the brothers, and then "moved them to let John Birgisson be consecrated archbishop of Nidaros (Drontheim), and gave him a vestment which is called a pallium, and settled moreover that the archbishop's

[1] He had the highest opinion of the superior power and fitness of the English for work of any kind, when they were not spoilt by levity. "B. Eugenius eam (the English race) ad quæcunque vellet applicari, dixit esse idoneam, et præferendam aliis, nisi levitas impediret." John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, vi. 19. Looking on the English of to-day, who could say of what they would not be capable, but for their frivolity!

[2] "Britannicum permensus Oceanum." Saxo Gram., *Gesta Dan.*, l. xiv. c. 139; ed. Holder. *Cf. Annal. Island. regii*, ap. *SS. Rer. Dan.*, iii. 56; ed. Langebek.

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seat should be in Nidaros, in Christ's Church, where King Olaf the saint reposes. Before that time," continues the famous Icelandic historian Snorri Sturleson,[1] "there had only been common bishops in Norway. The cardinal introduced also the law that no man should go unpunished who appeared with arms in the merchant town, excepting the twelve men in attendance on the king. He improved many of the customs of the Northmen while he was in the country. There never came a foreigner to Norway whom all men respected so highly or who could govern the people so well as he did. After some time he returned to the South with many presents, and declared ever after that he was the greatest friend of the people of Norway. . . . And according to the report of the men who went to Rome (when he was Pope), he had never any business, however important, to settle with other people, but he would break it off to speak with the Northmen who desired to see him. He was not long Pope, and is now considered a saint."[2]

To the new metropolitan see of Nidaros, Nicholas subjected not merely the four bishoprics of Norway and the two of Iceland, but also the four bishops of Greenland,[3] the Faroë Islands, the Orkneys, and Sodor and Man.[4]

After he had accomplished these useful reforms as well in the Church as in the State of Norway, Nicholas went to

[1] On Snorri, see *supra*, vi. 371 f.

[2] Snorri, *Heimskringla*, Saga xiv. c. 23, ed. Laing, iii. 26.

[3] The Icelandic Annals (an. 1150, ed. Storm, p. 114, etc.; ed. Christiania, 1888) mention the consecration of a bishop John for Greenland.

[4] *Cf.* the confirmatory bull of Anastasius IV. (1154) addressed to the new metropolitan, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. p. 229 f., or *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1081 ff., ep. 84, Anast. (November 1154), witnessed by Nicholas himself. On the mission of Nicholas, *cf.* Wilson, *Hist. of the Church and State in Norway*, pp. 134–144.

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Sweden, and summoned a council at Lynköping.[1] Though Sweden at this time acknowledged the authority of King Swerker, it comprised two kindred but distinct peoples, the *Sviar* or Swedes proper and the more southerly *Gautar* or Goths. Bitterly jealous of each other, neither people would suffer the metropolitan see to be situated in the territory of its rival; and so the legate decided to leave them subject to Lund.[2] In other respects the two peoples showed themselves very docile to the legate. They not only received him with the greatest honour, and accepted the laws he laid down about the carrying of arms and the like, but, to show their love of the Apostolic See, decreed that they would every year send Peter's Pence to Rome.[3]

But the hardest task the legate had to perform was still before him. It was to sooth Eskill, the primate of Lund, for the loss of Norway. This he succeeded in doing by confirming to him the primacy over Sweden; and, in sign thereof, he left him the pallium for the archbishop whom the Goths and Swedes might at length agree to elect, and decreed that the Swedish archbishop should be subject to the primate of Lund.[4] This decision of Nicholas, which

[1] "Habitum est concilium Lyncopie a Nicola Albanensi." *Chron.*, ap. *SS. Rer. Suecicarum*, i. p. 23, ed. Fant, Upsala, 1818.

[2] Saxo Gram., *l.c.*

[3] *Cf.* ep. 86 of Anastasius IV. (ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1084 ff.) to the bishops of Sweden. The Pope wrote (November 1154) that Nicholas had assured him that the people gladly heard the word of God from his mouth, and that both clergy and people, "on account of their veneration for the apostles," paid due honour to the legate of the Apostolic See. He exhorted them to remain in their attachment to the Roman See, and in submission to the regulations (*constitutiones*) of the legate, and concluded by telling the bishops to collect the Peter's Pence they had decided to give each in his own diocese, and to send it to Rome every year. *Cf.* his ep. 87 to King Swerker, where he exhorts him: "statuta (Nicolai) de libertate ecclesiarum vestrarum, armis non portandis et aliis ad salutem populi spectantibus firmiter observetis."

[4] "Statuit quoque, ut quicunque maximi Sueonum pontifices creandi essent, pallio a curia dato per Lundensem insignerentur antistitem,

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he himself confirmed as Pope,[1] was still in force in the days of Saxo Grammaticus, the historian we were quoting. Accordingly, when, some years after the departure of Nicholas (viz., in 1163), the Swedes and Goths agreed that their archbishop should have his see at Upsala, he was for a long time dependent on the Danish primate. However, about the end of the thirteenth century, the archbishops of Upsala began to obtain their palliums direct from Rome; and Bishop Nicholas Ragvald obtained a decree from the council of Basle which finally freed the Swedish archbishop from any dependence on the Danish see of Lund.[2]

Before leaving the territory of Denmark, the legate made a strenuous effort to prevent its King Sweyn from making war on Sweden. "With Roman diligence," he pointed out to him that the risks he would run were great, whereas the profit he might reap would be small. He told the king that, if he went to war, he would be like the spider which, from its very entrails, weaves a web with which it catches but miserable flies. But, adds Saxo, though Sweyn paid great honour to the cardinal's dignity whilst he was in his country, he hearkened not to his advice when he left it. He entered the territories of Swerker, who retired before him, enticed him into the wilds of Finland, and then surprised and defeated him.[3]

eamque sedem perpetuo uererentur obsequio." Saxo, *l.c.*, p. 471. *Cf.* ep. Innocent III., *Reg.*, i. 409, ap. *P. L.*, t. 214, p. 395, who confirmed the decision of Hadrian.

[1] *Cf.* also Jaffé, 10454.

[2] *Cf.* Martin, *L'église et l'état en Suède au Moyen Age*, p. 58, ap. *Rev. des. quest. hist.*, January 1905, p. 58.

[3] Saxo, *l.c.*, p. 471 ff. On this *Scandinavian Mission*, see especially Mackie, ch. iii. The Annals of Hamburg (an. 1149, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 382) say that Nicholas, "quia negotium conversionis illius regionis tam a papa quam a Romano principe tenuit," assigned to Hartvig, archbishop of Hamburg, the bishoprics of Oldenburg, Mikelenburg, and Raceburg, which that prelate was striving to revive. Certain late authors, quoted by Pagi, *Brev. gest. RR. PP.*, *in vit.*

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When, at length, Nicholas returned to Rome he left behind him not only a name which the Norsemen will never forget, but also, as his biographer Boso succinctly, and without much exaggeration, states, "peace for kingdoms, laws for barbarians, quiet for monasteries, order for churches, discipline for the clergy, and a people acceptable to God, doers of good works."

Had., iii. p. 40, state that Nicholas wrote not only an account of his embassy, but catechisms for the use of the Northmen, and a treatise on the Conception of our Lady. None of these works, however, is now extant.

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CHAPTER II.

HADRIAN IV. TROUBLES IN ROME. DEATH OF ARNOLD OF BRESCIA. BARBAROSSA AND THE ROMAN SENATE. CORONATION OF BARBAROSSA IN ROME. THE EMPEROR RETURNS TO GERMANY.

Nicholas is elected Pope, Dec. 4, 1154.

WHEN Nicholas returned to Rome, probably in the autumn of the year 1154, he devoted himself, successfully as we have seen, to obtaining the Pope's ratification of the changes he had effected in the hierarchy of Scandinavia. Within a few months after the cardinal's return, Pope Anastasius died, and the great reputation for learning, virtue, and energy [1] which Nicholas had now obtained caused him to be unanimously elected his successor. Assembled in St. Peter's, and crying out: "Pope Hadrian has been by God elected," both the clergy and the laity combined in forcing him against his will (*invitum et renitentem*, we are assured) into the chair of St. Peter.[2]

Hadrian's feelings with regard to his office.

Consecrated on the following day (Sunday, December 5), he was soon to learn, whether he accepted the Papacy willingly or unwillingly, that he had assumed a hard yoke; and he was to live to assure his friend, John of Salisbury, with many a weary sigh, that no one was more unhappy than the Pope of Rome;[3] that, apart

[1] "Laudabilis scientia, et vitæ moribus et simul strenuus in gubernatione ecclesiæ." So the Saga of Bp. Gudmund describes him. *Cf. Gest. Epp. Island.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. p. 414.

[2] Boso.

[3] "Dominum Adrianum, cujus tempora felicia faciat Deus, hujus rei testem invoco, quia Romano pontifice nemo miserabilior est,

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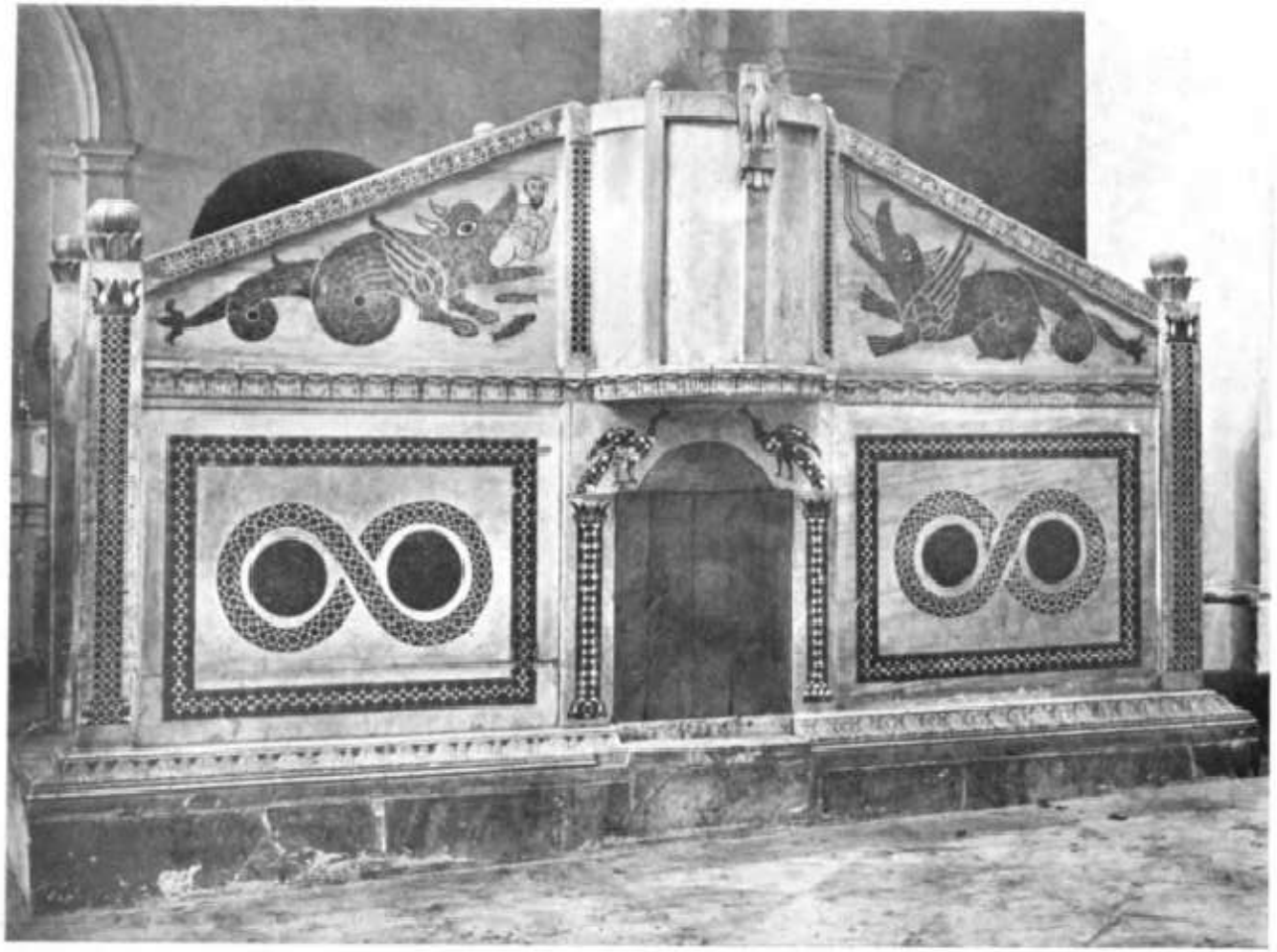

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Pulpit from the Cathedral of Ravello.

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from anything else, the work alone which he had to do would soon kill him,[1] and that, in comparison with his present misery, all the bitterness he had ever experienced before he became Pope was sweetness itself. Thorny, he declared, was the throne of Peter, and so full of the sharpest spikes was his mantle (*mantum*) that it would lacerate the stoutest shoulders.[2] The crown and mitre (*corona et phrygium*) that are worn by the Popes seem gloriously bright, and so they are, for they are all of fire. He often told his English confidant that, from the time he had left the cloister, and had mounted the ladder which had brought him to the Papacy, he had never found that a higher position had added the smallest degree of peace and happiness to that which he had had in the lower station. "The Lord," he said, "has long since placed me between the hammer and the anvil, and now He must Himself support the burden He has placed upon me, for I cannot carry it."[3]

The unhappy Hadrian was soon to find that one of the greatest difficulties he had to face was the avarice of some of the Romans of his curia. He seemed, as honest John tells us, to be faced with one of these

conditione ejus nulla miserior." *Polycraticus*, viii. 23. Of Hadrian's special friendship for John, the latter speaks in a letter to Walter, cardinal-bishop of Albano. "Adrianus . . . me speciali quadam charitatis gratia præ ceteris conterraneis diligebat, et fortunæ meæ casus sortis suæ eventibus connumerandos arbitrabatur." Ep. 200, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199.

[1] It was quite a proverb in this age that the bishop of Rome could not be a bishop long. "Omnes sciunt . . . Romanum pontificem non posse diu pontificari." John of Salisbury, ap. 30, to Hadrian himself, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 20.

[2] *Polycrat.*, viii. 23, in the new splendid edition by Webb, Oxford, 1909.

[3] *Ib. Cf. ib.*, vi. 24, where he tells Hadrian that many are saying that the Roman Church, "which is the mother of all the Churches," is behaving rather like a stepmother. John, however, who is perhaps

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alternatives; he must either himself become a slave of avarice, and lose his soul, or be at the mercy of the hands and tongues of the Romans. For if he had not wherewith to close their mouths and restrain their hands, he would have to harden himself to endure crime and sacrilege. Hence, in his distress, Hadrian used to say that he would rather never have left his native England, or have remained for ever hidden in the cloister of St. Rufus, than have accepted his present position. To this wish, however, he appended the proviso—except that he was afraid of opposing the will of God,—which shows that he was not a man to let vain regrets interfere with present action.[1] In every position in which Providence placed him, he worked with all the energy of which his vigorous nature was capable.

The opinion of John of Salisbury in the first half of the year 1156 as to how Hadrian had fulfilled his duties up to that time.

Hadrian's much beloved mentor, John of Salisbury, however, hinted to him one day that he was beginning to look keenly for his children's gifts in order that he might have the money necessary to keep Rome under his authority. Full of an Englishman's ideas of law and order, John would indeed have had the Pope forcibly curb the turbulent Romans and their agitator Arnold; "If you are the ruler, why do you not strike terror into your Roman subjects," he indignantly asked Hadrian, "and bring them

rather unduly severe on the failings of certain members of the Roman Church, has the grace to state that he had nowhere met clergy more honourable or more free from avarice than in Rome: "Unum tamen audacter . . . profiteor, quia nusquam honestiores clericos vidi quam in Ecclesia Romana, aut qui magis avaritiam detestentur." He notes, too, that the worth of the *majority* (*plurium*) was such that they were not inferior to Fabricius, but rather superior to him, as they had the true faith. *Ib.* He also proceeds to lay down that if the Roman Church is not always to be imitated, it must be obeyed under pain of heresy or schism. "Nam qui a doctrina vestra disentit, aut hæreticus aut schismaticus est." *Ib.*

[1] *Ib.*, viii. 23. All this was written down by John whilst Hadrian was still alive. "Dum superest, ipsum interroga, et crede experto."

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back to their fealty (*ad fidem*) by repressing their rashness?"[1] But he impressed upon him the necessity of giving justice to all gratuitously. Without wishing to maintain that avarice was not a prevailing weakness even among the Romans of the curia, we must note that "the cupidity of the Roman court" was an obsession with our worthy countryman. He had had apparently to suffer from it, or, at least, he thought he had,[2] and that fact seems to have rendered him somewhat preternaturally acute in discovering traces of this vice. This Hadrian would seem to have realised; for he laughed at John's diatribe, and, bidding him always report to him what evil men said of him, proceeded to relate the fable of the belly and the members.

Although Hadrian did not pretend to have always acted rightly, his sensible answer convinced his would-be monitor that, if there was to be life and activity in the members of the Church, the Roman Church, the source of their life, must be well nourished by them. John declared himself satisfied, and professed his readiness to put his shoulder to the wheel.[3]

Hadrian not ungrateful; but favours St. Albans, etc.

Whatever other human weakness may have been possessed by Hadrian, there was in him no trace of malice or ingratitude. In the beginning of his reign he was visited by Robert of Gorham, the eighteenth abbot (1151–6) of that monastery of St. Albans where he had

[1] *Polycrat.*, vi. 24. The views of John of Salisbury as to the way in which the Romans ought to be treated were shared by the best people in Christendom at the time. The famous nun Hildegard, with whom Hadrian corresponded, like his two immediate predecessors, bade him "ut subjectis tuis frenum imponas." Ep. 3, ap. *P. L.*, t. 197, p. 154.

[2] He says (*l.c.*) a cardinal Guido Clement had blamed the Roman Church for avarice in presence of Pope Eugenius and his fellow-cardinals when John was being accused by the people of Ferentino: "quando adversus *innocentiam meam* Ferentini gratis excanduerant."

[3] *Ib.*, c. 25.

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received his first serious rebuff. The abbot had come both on the king's business and on his own. Henry II., "who had recently been anointed," had despatched to Rome (October 9, 1155), on very important state affairs, an embassy of which he had made Robert the chief. Besides entrusting him with letters to the Pope on his own affairs, the king had, no doubt at Robert's request, furnished him with a letter in which he begged the Pope to interest himself not only in his affairs, but also in those of the monastery of St. Albans, seeing that it was under his royal patronage. Not content with a king's letter, the wise abbot provided himself with a large sum of money (140 marks[1]), and a number of beautiful presents.

After a journey of about seven or eight weeks, Henry's ambassadors found Hadrian at Benevento, where it is known that he had been residing from at least November 21.[2] When the king's business had been duly transacted, the abbot made as though he would return at once to England. To this, however, Hadrian would not agree, but bade the three bishops, who had accompanied the abbot, return, and give the king an account of their mission. Left now alone with the Pope, Robert offered him the gold and presents which he had brought with him. Hadrian accepted them with a pleasant smile. He would not, however, retain anything except certain mitres and, for the sake of their beautiful workmanship, some sandals which Christina, prioress of Markyate, or Mergate, had wrought for him; but, while praising the abbot for his courtesy, he said banteringly: "I refuse your presents, because when I once asked the abbot of St. Albans to give me the habit of a monk, he refused to accept me." "But," promptly

[1] The mark was equivalent to about 8 oz. of silver, or 160 silver pennies.

[2] Jaffé, *Regest.*, 10,097 (6900).

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retorted the abbot, "he could not have received you; for God in His all-seeing wisdom willed it otherwise, since He had set apart your life for a higher position." After so graceful a reply, what wonder that the abbot heard from the Pope the welcome words: "Ask boldly for what you want. The bishop of Albano can refuse nothing to St. Albans." Before he preferred his petition, the worthy abbot distributed to the members of the papal court the presents he had brought for the Pope: "knowing full well that the Romans are insatiable as leeches, and ever thirsty for money." By this judicious action the abbot's "name was extolled to the skies, and he found favour with all the Romans."[1] Accordingly, when he preferred his complaints against the *ordinary* of his diocese, viz., the bishop of Lincoln, and asked for favours for St. Albans, Hadrian "granted the Church of St. Albans the well-known privilege by which we, both monks of the cloister, and those living outside the monastery, in its smaller dependencies, are made free of all episcopal authority, save only that of Rome, to all time. And further, his Holiness granted us other such special privileges, that there is no monastery in all England which can compare with St. Albans for liberty."[2] With letters for the king,

[1] *Gesta Abbat. S. Alb.*, i. 128, R. S. It must be borne in mind regarding this narrative that, though these *Gesta* of the abbots of St. Albans (790–1290) were compiled by Thomas Walsingham in the reign of Richard II., the first twenty-three *lives* are certainly the work of Matthew Paris. Hence in this narrative both the merits and defects of that writer may be noticed. He is always prepared to tell us exactly what the Pope said; always supposes the monastery of St. Albans to be the most important place in the world, and its superiors ever to be in the right; and is always hostile to the Roman curia because the Popes sometimes wanted money from St. Albans.

[2] *Ib.* "Quam in cellis seu in custodiis villarum" is the phrase used to express the abbey's dependencies. Tarleton's translations are frequently used.

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and these valuable privileges for his monastery, Robert returned home rejoicing.[1]

Boso's character of Hadrian.

This story of the abbot of St. Albans has shown us one side of Hadrian's character, and the conversation of the blunt English scholar from Salisbury with an English Pope whom he loved and revered but to whom he fearlessly spoke his mind—a conversation hitherto unique in the annals of the Papacy—has shown us another side of his character. Provisionally then, at least, we may accept the description of Hadrian's character by another Englishman, even though it be couched in language used by papal biographers who wrote some four hundred years before his time. Hadrian, says Boso, was a man who was affability itself, a man who was mild and patient. Skilled in Latin and in his English tongue, he was fluent and polished in his speech; an excellent singer, and a most distinguished preacher. He was slow to yield to anger, but quick to forgive. His alms were given cheerfully and abundantly, and along the road of all the virtues both natural and supernatural he had advanced far.

Arnold of Brescia disturbs the city.

But the life of Hadrian was not to be passed in listening to the suave speeches of diplomatic abbots, or even to the straightforward criticisms of sympathetic friends, nor in receiving pretty presents from the skilled hands of English needlewomen. Serious difficulties were springing up all round him both near and far. A king, the haughty

[1] *Cf.* Will. of Newburgh, *Hist.*, ii. 6. "Not unmindful of his early instruction, and chiefly in *memory* of his father, he honoured the church of the blessed martyr Alban with donations, and distinguished it with lasting privileges." *Cf.* Jaffé, 10113 ff., 10324. These words of William prove, against Matthew Paris, that Hadrian's father was not alive at this time. Mention has already been made of Hadrian's connection with the Premonstratensians. When Pope he interested himself in their behalf, declaring: that he loved them with a special love on account of their pre-eminent piety. Ep. 200. *Cf.* epp. 202, 203, 9, 11.

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Barbarossa, had already appeared in northern Italy who was determined to be the first man in Europe, and who was resolved to make his will the sole law; William I. of Sicily was in arms against the Church in south Italy, and at Hadrian's very door in Rome his rule was being disputed by Arnold of Brescia and the Senate. That demagogue realised that in the English Pope he had an antagonist of very different stamp to that of either Eugenius or Anastasius, and redoubled his efforts to keep his hold on the people and to stir them up against papal authority. Hadrian ordered him to quit the city, but the agitator paid no heed to his command, and his followers attacked the venerable Cardinal Guido of S. Pudenziana as he was going along the Via Sacra to visit the Pope in the Leonine city, and left him for dead.[1]

Rome under an interdict, 1155.

To the profound astonishment of the Romans, Hadrian at once laid the city under an interdict. They had often heard of the order for the cessation of religious worship in other places in punishment of far less crimes than they had often committed; but till this moment no Pope had ever inflicted this terrible punishment on them. The bare necessities of the spiritual life were all that were permitted. Children could be baptized and the confessions of the dying could be heard; but the churches were closed, and there could be no Mass, no communion, no confirmation, no solemnisation of marriage, no Extreme Unction.[2] For some time the Romans held out; but when Holy Week came, and there was the dismal prospect of an Easter without the joys of religion, and without the substantial profits which, but for the interdict, pilgrims would have

[1] Boso, ap. *L. P.*, p. 389.

[2] Hadrian himself lays down with regard to an interdict: "Præter baptisma parvulorum, et pœnitentias morientium omnia divina prohibeatis officia celebrari." Ep. 206, p. 1587.

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brought to the city, both clergy and people brought pressure to bear on the senators. Arnold and his followers were expelled from Rome and its district, the interdict was removed, and on Maunday Thursday (March 23), amidst a great crowd of rejoicing people, Hadrian, surrounded by his cardinals, went in solemn procession from the Leonine city to the Lateran. There he celebrated the festival of Easter in the usual joyous fashion.[1]

The kingdom of the two Sicilies.

During all the time this struggle was going on in Rome, Hadrian was in the midst of political movements that involved the empires of the East and of the West, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, not to mention smaller powers. It was around the double kingdom that the currents of policy ebbed and flowed. Its growing strength was feared not merely by the Pope, but by the Autocrator at Constantinople, and by the king of the Romans on the Rhine. Manuel I. (Comnenus) was anxious to weaken a power that had defied the Eastern Roman Empire, and Frederick I. (Barbarossa) was resolved to reduce it, as well as every other part of Italy, to complete subjection to himself. In the midst of these complications the famous Roger II. of Sicily gave up his soul to God, and his kingdom to his son William I., perhaps too easily called "the Bad" (February 1154). In his difficulties the new king turned to the Pope, and in the very beginning of Hadrian's pontificate sent him an embassy to arrange a treaty of peace. But, perhaps because he was annoyed that William, though a feudatory of the Holy See, had assumed the crown without any reference to his suzerain,[2] or perhaps because he was resolved to stand by the treaty of Constance, which

[1] Boso, *l.c.*

[2] Hence, in communicating with William by letter, Hadrian simply called him *lord*, and not king: "Papa ipsum non regem, sed Guilielmum dominum Siciliæ nominabat." Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, an. 1154, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 197.

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Eugenius had made with Barbarossa,[1] at any rate, the Pope would not listen to William's offers.[2] On the contrary, he entered into communication with Barbarossa in the very first month of his pontificate.[3] Thereupon William, seeing that no profit was likely to arise from further negotiation, crossed over to Salerno from Sicily during Lent (1155), refused to see a legate of the Pope because the latter would not acknowledge his title of king, and instructed his lieutenant to invade the papal territories.[4] Benevento was besieged, and Ceprano, Bauco,[5] and other unfortified places in the Campagna were burnt. The excommunication of William for these hostile acts[6] did not result in the cessation of hostilities on the part of his troops; but the near approach to Rome of the soldiers of Barbarossa from the North checked for the time the advance of the Normans from the South.

Barbarossa advances on Rome.

Meanwhile, the king of the Romans had entered Italy in October 1154, to receive the imperial crown[7] and the homage of the whole peninsula. Rich in peace, as his name (Friedrich) we are told implied,[8] he had pacified Germany that he might subdue warlike Italy. Many of the cities of the North submitted to him at once. Others,

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 167. [2] Romuald, *l.c.* [3] Ep. 7.

[4] Romuald, *l.c.* [5] Some two miles east of Frosinone.

[6] Boso: "Pro hiis ergo et aliis offensis . . . Adrianus . . . ipsum regem excommunicationis mucrone percussit." Bauco was burnt on June 3. *Cf. Chron. Ceccan.* (al. *Fossæ novæ*), an. 1155, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii., and *Anon. Cass.*, an. 1155, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 66.

[7] "Mos fuit ut Romam tendant sumantque coronam
Teutonici reges; nec habet magnum ullus eorum
Imperii nomen, donec a præsule summo
Sumpserit oblatum manibus diadema sacratis."
Gesta di Federico, v. 67 ff.

[8] "Et ideo, quod cum ex nominis sui interpretatione *pacis dives*, vocitaretur inter principes Alamannie studuit pacem potissimum reformare, ut ad expugnandas Itallicarum . . . virtutes bellicas posset efficacius insistere." Burchardi, *Ursperg. Chron.*, p. 21, ed. Pertz.

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however, the chief of which was Milan, refused to acknowledge him; but, although grievous complaints against that powerful city were laid before him at a diet which he held on the plain of Roncaglia, he did not feel strong enough to attack it. When he found that it required sixty days to reduce Tortona, he realised the magnitude of the task that awaited him if he attempted to subdue all the cities which were hostile to him, and determined to get the imperial crown without further delay. Receiving the crown of Lombardy at Pavia (April 17),[1] he marched into Tuscany. There, at the hill-town of San Quirico, midway between Sienna and Acquapendente, he was met by three cardinals.

Arnold of Brescia is surrendered to the Pope, 1155.

Hadrian had been much disturbed by the stories which reached him of Frederick's rather ruthless conduct in north Italy, and on his way to meet the king, held a consultation at Sutri[2] with his cardinals and with Peter, the prefect of Rome, and the consul, Odo Frangipane (June). As a result of their deliberations the cardinals were sent forward with precise instructions as to the line of conduct they were to pursue in their dealings with the German monarch.[3] To test his intentions, he was to be asked to cause Arnold of Brescia to be restored to the hands of the papal officials. Soon after his expulsion from Rome that irrepressible agitator had been captured by Odo, the cardinal-deacon of

[1] See Frederick's own account of these transactions in his letter to Otto of Frising. He attributes the spirit of independence in north Italy to the long absence of the emperors. "Hæc (Longobardia) quia propter longam absentiam imperatorum ad insolentiam declinaverat et . . . aliquantum rebellare cœperat." *Cf.* Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 99 ff.; and Testa, *The War of Frederick I. against the Communes of Lombardy*, p. 126 ff.

[2] For the *place* where the council was held, see Mackie, p. 44.

[3] Boso. "Quibus (the cardinals) et certa capitula dedit, et modum ac formam prefixit qualiter cum ipso pro Ecclesia deberent componere." *Cf.* ep. 58.

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The Residence of Commander Tarleton, which is thought to occupy the site of the family seat of the Breakspears.

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St. Nicholas, at Bricola, better known as Lo Spedaletto di S. Pellegrino, on the right bank of the Orcia, some six miles south-east of San Quirico.[1] But he had been rescued by the viscounts of Campagnatico, whose sway extended over the vale of the Orcia near San Quirico.

Arnold is put to death.

Frederick agreed to this requirement of the Pope, and, by promptly seizing one of the viscounts, caused the agitator to be delivered into the hands of the cardinals.[2] He had had no difficulty in satisfying himself that, if Arnold was animated with a sincere wish to effect reforms, he was nevertheless a dangerous agitator; that his teachings had resulted in rapine and murder, and that, despite these consequences, which no government could tolerate, he would not refrain from continuing to proclaim his doctrines. Accordingly, the prefect of Rome, whose business it was to deal with cases involving life and death, was instructed by Frederick to treat Arnold as an acknowledged criminal.[3] If, only a few generations ago, our ancestors thought it right to hang a man for stealing a sheep, it is small matter for wonder if Frederick and the Prefect of Rome decided to hang Arnold of Brescia, not merely beause he may have taught heresy, but because, by his doctrines, which he refused to keep to himself, he had

[1] The locality of Bricola has been disputed. We have here followed Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 390 n.; others identify it with Otricoli or with the Castrum Turris Campane near it.

[2] Boso. "Procax (forward, over-bold) Arenoldus" is the description given of Arnold in the poetical prefix to Gunther, ap. *P. L.*, t. 212, p. 329.

[3] "Captus (Arnold) principis examini reservatus est." Otto, *Gest. Frid.*, ii. 28.

"Hic igitur regi delatus nunc Frederico,
Judice prefecto Romano, vincitur; illum
Namque jubet rector causam discernere notam,
Damnaturque suo doctor pro dogmate doctus."

Gesta di Feder., v. 828 ff.

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brought about acts of violence which had ended in the destruction of life and property. Precise details, however, of the time and place of Arnold's death are wanting, but it is certain that the misguided enthusiast was hanged, that his body was burnt, and that his ashes were cast into the Tiber lest they might be honoured by ignorant people as relics.[1]

[1] "Ad ultimum a prefecto Urbis ligno adactus ac, rogo in pulverem redacto funere, ne a furente plebe corpus ejus veneratione haberetur, in Tyberim sparsus." Otto. *Ib.*

"Et laqueo collum fato properante ligari (when he perceived)
. . . . . .
Tandem suspensus laqueo retinente pependit.
. . . . . .
Heu quid in ecclesiam mordacem vertere dentem
Suasit? ut ad tristem laqueum, miserande, venires!
. . . . . .
Arsit, et in tenuem tecum est resoluta favillam,
Ne cui reliquie superent fortasse colende."

Gesta di Feder., v. 833 ff.

Godfrey of Viterbo, v. 141 : "Strangulat hunc laqueus, ignis et unda vehunt." Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who wishes that Arnold had been exiled or imprisoned instead of being put to death, speaks to the same effect (*De investigatione Antichristi*, i. 40, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. 347) : "Suspendio neci traditus, quin et *post mortem* incendio crematus," etc. Various annals tell the same story of the hanging of Arnold, *e.g.*, the *Ann. Einsidlenses*, an. 1153, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii. Hence the elaborate descriptions of the burning of Arnold given by some authors are purely imaginary. See also Gunther, l. iii., v. 245–349. But it is seemingly quite impossible to state whether Arnold was hanged before or after Frederick's entry into Rome. Vincent, a canon of Prague († 1174), who visited Rome, and made careful inquiries about the doings of Barbarossa there in 1155, says in his *Chron. or Annales Bæmorum* (ap. Watterich, ii. 349 f.) that, after the emperor's defeat of the Romans, the prefect Peter hanged some of the ringleaders of their rising, and it is supposed by Watterich among others that Arnold shared their fate. This account harmonises very well with a report mentioned by Gerhoh. He says that it was stated (*ut aiunt*) that the prefect secretly possessed himself of Arnold's person, and caused him to be put to death in revenge for the losses which his teaching had brought upon him at the hands of the Roman citizens (*De investig. Antichristi*, i. 40, ap.

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Seeing that the prefect of the city was a papal official, it may be taken for granted that the Pope concurred with Frederick in sanctioning the execution of Arnold; but it must be noted that he was condemned not for desiring to reform the Church, nor for denouncing its corruptions, for he could not have done that more vigorously than Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Bernard of Clairvaux, but for sedition.[1] There is one way of preaching a reformation of manners, which is that of men who are at once good and sensible, and which effects its purpose; there is another which leads to violence and bloodshed, and which is the way of the fool or of the rogue. "And it is only just to point out," writes Tarleton,[2] "that, like all dreamers, Arnold was one-sided in his judgment; his enthusiasm only enabled him to see the abuse of riches in the Church, and failed to show him that she must, if she was to live, have the means necessary to carry out her mission, to keep up her dignity, to relieve her poorer members, and to maintain the worship of God; not to mention the training of her sons and the mission work of bringing fresh sheep to the fold."

A deadlock.

But, after Frederick had ordered Arnold to be given into the hands of the Pope's legates, he would not enter into further negotiations with them. He had despatched envoys to Hadrian about the same time that Hadrian had sent his cardinals to him; and he would not deal further with the papal legates until his own envoys had returned

M. G. Libell., iii. 347). In compensation for these and other losses he had sustained in his struggles against the Roman people (de damno castrorum, domorum et omnium aliarum rerum . . . quod nobis contigit occasione guerre quam habuimus cum populo Romano pro Romana ecclesia), Peter received from the Pope (August 1158) 2000 marks of silver, *i.e.*, 320,000 silver pennies. *Cf. Liber Censuum*, i. 425 f., ed. Fabre.

[1] Ep. 89, an. 1156, p. 1452, shows the continuation of the disastrous effects of Arnold's teaching in the matter of clerical insubordination.

[2] P. 85.

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with the Pope's answers to his proposals. The two embassies had crossed, and Hadrian had equally refused to deal with the king's envoys until his own had brought back answers to his queries from their master. Frederick's ambassadors had experienced some difficulty in finding the Pope, who, rendered somewhat suspicious by the king's rapid advance, had left Viterbo for the still stronger position of Civita Castellana. Fortunately, when returning to their respective masters the two embassies encountered each other, and, after a brief consultation, both proceeded to the camp of Frederick near Viterbo.

Frederick's undertakings.

To their chagrin the cardinals found that their arrival had been anticipated by Octavian, the cardinal of St. Cecily's, who, advancing still further along the path of ambition,[1] had betaken himself to Frederick when he found he was not acceptable to the Pope.[2] Fortunately, however, his efforts to make mischief were frustrated by his brethren, and he had to retire covered with confusion. Then, before a full diet, an elected representative of the king swore in his name that he would not make any attempt against the person of the Pope, or his court, and that he would not allow any aggression against the Pope's honour or possessions.[3] When this had been done, arrangements were soon made for an interview between Hadrian and the king, and for the latter's receiving the imperial crown.

The "stirrup" incident.

The Pope accordingly made his way to Nepi, and the king advanced his camp to Campo Grasso near Sutri. On the day following his arrival at Nepi, viz., on June 9, Hadrian, surrounded by his cardinals, rode towards the German camp. He was accorded a warm reception by

[1] Boso: "jam spirans seditionis et scismatis." Octavian is the future antipope Victor IV. *Cf.* ***supra***, p. 217 f.

[2] *Ib.* "Non missus a pontifice set dimissus." [3] *Ib.*

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the Teutonic host, and was conducted in triumph to Frederick's tent. But here the harmony of the proceedings was rudely broken. The king did not come forward to offer that mark of respect which his predecessors had shown to the successors of the Apostles by holding the stirrup whilst the Pope dismounted. The cardinals, interpreting this to denote ill-will on the part of Frederick, and mindful of the seizure of Paschal II. by Henry VI., at once turned their horses round and fled at full speed towards Civita Castellana, leaving the Pope alone. Though perturbed at this unexpected incident, Hadrian quietly dismounted from his horse, and took the seat which had been prepared for him. Frederick thereupon advanced, kissed the Pope's feet, and would have given him the prescribed kiss of peace. But Hadrian drew back, saying that, until he had shown to him that mark of respect which his predecessors had been wont to show to the Roman pontiffs, he would not give him the customary kiss of peace. Frederick, however, would not give way. It was no part of his duty, he haughtily declared, to act as the Pope's groom. But next day, after Hadrian had returned to Nepi, it was proved by the testimony of the older princes, and by the records of history, that precedent was against the king, and it was decided that, "out of reverence for the blessed Apostles," he should perform the office of groom to the Pope. The German camp was, accordingly, pushed forward to Lake Janula near the town of Monterosi (June 11), and when Hadrian rode towards it, Frederick advanced to meet him, and, in sight of the whole army, stepped boldly forward, cheerfully led the Pope's horse for a brief space, and assisted him to dismount.[1]

[1] "Sicut a principibus fuerat ordinatum rex . . . occurens ei, quantum jactum est lapidis in conspectu exercitus officium stratoris cum jocunditate implevit, et streugam *fortiter* tenuit." Boso. Another

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The kiss of peace then given him by the Pope sealed the reconciliation between these two iron characters.

A deputation from the Senate to Frederick.

When, now full of respect for one another,[1] the Pope and the king were on their way to Rome, they were met by a deputation from the city. The envoys addressed Frederick in the same bombastic style which the new Roman republic had previously used to the German monarch. They exhorted him to listen to what the Mistress of the world had to say to him. They had, they said, long awaited the coming of one who would throw off the yoke of the clergy, and under whom the insolence of the world would be subjected to the monarchy of the city. It was the city which had made emperors of the German kings, and so he must observe all its laws and customs which his ancestors had confirmed to it, must give five thousand pounds of gold to its officials who would acclaim him in the Capitol, and protect the republic even to the shedding of his blood.[2]

account of this famous incident given by Watterich (ii. 342 f.) from the *Liber Censuum* (no. 142), is only an abridgment of the account of Boso. Gregorovius, who seems incapable of understanding what the eyes of faith can see in certain men, amuses himself in discovering "a scene" in *fortiter*. "Adrian pale, the emperor, with an ironical smile, briskly removing the stirrup" (*Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 532 n.). He would appear to have forgotten that the stirrup must be held *firmly* if one is really to assist another to dismount. Tarleton (p. 112), on the contrary, realises the truth: "that the Pope represented literally to the minds of all devout Christians our Blessed Lord Himself; and however great the earthly potentate, he lost none of his dignity in the eyes of the faithful by doing homage to the Holy Father." The thirteenth-century national codes of Suabia and Saxony, which are a record of ancient custom, lay it down that the Kaiser must hold the Pope's stirrup. Thus speaks the latter code, the *Sachsenspiegel*: "Dem Papst ist auch gesetzl dass er zu gewisser Zeit aufeinem weissen Pferde reiten mag, da ihm dann der Kaiser den Steigbügel halten soll, damit der Sattel sich nicht wende." P. 17, ed. Gärtner, Leipzig, 1732, quoted by Casartelli, p. 95. The *Schwabenspiegel* has a similar regulation.

[1] Otto F., *Gesta*, ii. 28. [2] *Ib.*, c. 29.

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These cool demands were too much for the blunt German, and he broke in with the curt phrase that what he had heard of the wisdom of the Romans did not accord with the foolish words he had been listening to, and he reminded the envoys that the glory of the city had departed long ago, and was now to be found among the Germans. He had come, he told them, to claim his own, and not to receive anything from them. As for defending the city and its laws, he would know how to look after what belonged to himself.[1]

The Leonine city occupied by German troops.

Dumbfounded at this angry outburst of their future overlord, the Roman envoys left the German camp, saying that they must consult with those who had sent them before they could say more.[2] Not overpleased with the attitude which the Romans had taken up, Frederick consulted the Pope on the situation. "My son," replied Hadrian, "you will realise the guile of the Romans more and more as time goes on. . . . Meantime, send forward with all speed a body of picked troops who will assist my soldiers in holding St. Peter's and the Leonine city, and (to facilitate negotiations) I will attach to them Cardinal Octavian, a man of the noblest Roman descent and *most true to you*." The Pope's advice was promptly acted upon, and a thousand men, the flower of the German army, were soon standing shoulder to shoulder with the papal troops by the bridge and castle of St. Angelo and on the old walls of Leo IV.

[1] *Ib.*, c. 30. *Cf.* what Frederick says himself about this Roman embassy in his letter prefixed to the History of Otto F. "Maximam pecuniam pro fidelitate eorum ac servitio, tria quoque a nobis juramenta exquisierunt (Romani). Inde, cum d. Papa et cardinalibus consilio inito, quia imperium emere noluimus et sacramenta vulgo præstare non debuimus, ut omnes dolos . . . eorum declinaremus, Octaviano cardinale conducente, maxima pars miliciæ nostræ nocte per portam parvulam juxta S. Petrum intravit." *Cf.* Helmold, *Chron. Slav.*, i. 79, who says the Senate asked Frederick for 15,000 pounds.

[2] Otto F., *l.c.*, c. 31.

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The coronation of Frederick, 1155.

Just after sunrise on June 18, the Pope and his cardinals betook themselves to Rome to await the arrival of Frederick. At length, to those on the watch, the bright flashings of the rays of the morning sun from helmet and cuirass, and from sword and spear, revealed the German host descending the slopes of the Mons Gaudii. Leaving, as usual, the main mass of his troops outside the walls, Frederick entered the Leonine city by the Golden Gate near St. Peter's. Then, exchanging his military accoutrements for the state robes of an emperor, he was received by Hadrian in front of the altar of S. Maria in Turri. There, kneeling before the Sovereign Pontiff with his hands in those of the Pope, he swore to be the defender of the Holy Roman Church in the terms set forth in the *Ordo* which was followed on this occasion.[1]

Hadrian then went to St. Peter's, whither he was followed in solemn procession by Frederick. At the Silver Gate the new emperor was met by the cardinal-bishop of Albano, who pronounced the first prayer over him: "O God in whose hands are the hearts of kings . . . grant to Thy servant Frederick, our emperor, the shield of Thy wisdom, and that, drawing his counsels from Thee, he may please Thee, and may preside over all the kings of the earth."

Advancing up the nave of the great basilica, Frederick

[1] Boso: "Consuetam professionem . . . secundum quod in *ordine* continetur, publice exhibuit." The Ordo in question is that of Cencius Camerarius, and may be read in Fabre's ed., *Liber Censuum*, i. p. 420 f., or ap. Watterich, ii. 328 ff. With this account of an imperial coronation which we are here giving from Cencius, compare those we have already given ap. vol. ii. 275, v. 166, vii. 159. The oath taken on this occasion ran thus: "In nomine Christi promitto, spondeo et polliceor ego (Fredericus) Imperator, coram Deo et b. Petro, me protectorem . . . esse hujus S. R. Ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus in quantum divino fultus fuero adjutorio secundum scire et posse."

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reached the great disc of red porphyry[1] let into its floor. Here the second prayer was offered up by the bishop of Porto: "O God . . . the ruler of empires, who from the seed of . . . Abraham didst take the Everlasting King . . . firmly establish this sovereign . . . in the throne of empire. Visit him as Thou didst Moses in the burning bush, . . . and pour on him the dew of Thy wisdom. . . . Be Thou to him a shield in all his difficulties, and grant that the nations may be true to him, that his nobles may keep the peace, and that his people may ever enjoy the blessings of happiness and peace."

From the disc Frederick moved forward to the Confession of St. Peter, and prostrated himself on the ground whilst the archdeacon intoned the Litany. When it was finished, the bishop of Ostia anointed the emperor on his right arm and between the shoulders, at the same time calling on God, in whom all power resides, to grant him a happy period of imperial rule (*prosperum imperatorie dignitatis effectum*), that nothing may hinder his care for the Church,[2] and that he may rule his people with justice. After another prayer Mass began, and, according to one codex,[3] when the epistle had been read, the emperor was presented to the Pope, who, standing in front of the altar of St. Peter, and taking from it a sword in its sheath, girt it on him saying: "Receive this sword, taken from the body of St. Peter." Then, after Frederick had drawn the sword and had right manfully (*viriliter*) thrice brandished it in the air and had received the sceptre, came the supreme moment. The Pope took the imperial crown from the altar, and placed it on the monarch's head with the words:

[1] "In medio rotæ," Ordo; "infra ecclesiam in rota," says Boso.

[2] The actual words of the prayer speak of the emperor's *rule* of the Church: "Concedas (Deus) . . . ut in tua dispositione constituto ad regendam Ecclesiam tuam . . . ei præsentia officiant," etc.

[3] Ap. Watterich, *l.c.*, p. 329 f.

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"Receive this emblem of glory in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and so wear it in justice and mercy that you may receive from our Lord the crown of eternal life."[1]

No sooner were these momentous words uttered than the Germans raised so tremendous a cheer that it seemed, writes Boso, as though a thunderbolt had suddenly fallen from heaven.

During the rest of the Mass the emperor sat on a faldstool by the Pope's right hand, and when it was over returned on horseback to his tent just outside the walls with the imperial crown on his head, whilst the Pope withdrew to the Vatican palace.[2]

The Romans attack the Germans.

All this had been accomplished before nine o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile, word of what was being done began to spread like wildfire through the city. The alarum was sounded, and senators and people rushed to the Capitol. Furious that Frederick had not deigned to seek the imperial crown from them, they flew to arms,[3] and, as the Germans had followed their ruler to the camp outside the walls, they forced their way into the Leonine city from the Trastevere and across the bridge of St. Angelo. Killing or plundering all they met, the Romans pressed on to St. Peter's. Meanwhile, the tumult and the cries of fugitives roused the emperor, who, fearing for the Pope and the cardinals, called his troops to arms. Although oppressed by the heat, the Germans obeyed the call with

[1] We have slightly abridged this prayer. In the Constantinopolitan codex just quoted there are a few additional words before "emblem": "Accipe diadema regni, coronam imperii, signum gloriæ," etc. Boso's description is in complete accordance with the Ordo.

[2] With Otto, ii. 32, *cf.* the Ordo.

[3] Otto, *l.c.*, c. 33; *cf.* Boso, who says the people acted "sine consilio et deliberatione majorum"; and Vincent of Prague (who in Rome gathered materials for his graphic description of this fight from eye-witnesses), "antiquum fastum somniantes," *Ann.*, 1156, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

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The Pulpit in the Duomo of Ravello.

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alacrity and rushed into the city. A desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued which lasted till nightfall.[1] By that time the imperial forces had driven the Romans out of the Leonine city with great slaughter, and the patriotic episcopal historian grimly tells us that they smote as though they were saying: "Take, you Romans German steel instead of Arabic gold. This is the money your Prince gives you for his crown. 'Tis thus empire is bought by the Franks."

According to the same authority, a thousand Romans were killed or drowned, six hundred of them were taken prisoners, while a countless number were wounded.[2] The losses were, however, not confined to the Romans, and when the Germans retired to their camp at night they had to mourn the loss of many a gallant comrade.[3]

Hadrian obtains the release of the Roman prisoners, and Frederick destroys castles.

This terrible slaughter of his people greatly distressed Hadrian;[4] and, as soon as morning broke, he went to the tent of Frederick, and did not leave it until he had procured the release of all the captives.[5] Despite the defeat of the

[1] Speaking rather as a patriotic German than as an impartial historian, Gerhoh of Reichersberg writes (*Liber de novitat. hujus temp.*, n. 31, ed. Thatcher, in his *Studies concerning Adrian IV.*): "Populus Romanus principatui apostolico inimicus nuper cesus est non in facie tamquam strenue pugnans, sed in dorso tamquam ignaviter fugiens ante faciem principatus apostolici et imperatoris."

[2] Otto, *ib.* *Cf.* Helmold, *l.c.*, c. 80; *Chron. Farf.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. 590; *Anon. Gesta di Fed.*, v. 610 ff.; the letter of Frederick to Otto; Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frid.*, n. 6; Gunther, l. iv., *init.*; Vincent of Prague (*l.c.*) especially.

[3] Otto, *l.c.*, talks of only one German being killed and one being captured; but the truth is no doubt with Morena: "Multi ab utraque parte . . . interfecti," *Hist.*, p. 989, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.; and with the *Anon. Gesta di Fed.*, v. 714 f.: "Corpora multa virum passim ceduntur utrinque." *Cf.* the graphic account of this fight given by Vincent of Prague (*Annal. Bœmorum*), who appears to have made careful inquiries about it, ap. Watterich, ii. 349, or *M. G. SS.*, xvii.

[4] "Eidem populo tanquam suo gregi debita caritate compassus est." Boso.

[5] *Ib.* *Cf. Gesta di Fed.*, v. 746 ff.

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Romans, the emperor did not care to remain in the neighbourhood of their city. His forces, not large even when he had entered Italy, were now much reduced, and they were suffering from the heat, and from want of provisions, as he was not strong enough to compel the Romans to supply them. However, still further to impress the people of the peninsula with a sense of his power, he resolved to destroy some of the castles of the Campagna. Accompanied by Hadrian, he marched along the right bank of the Tiber, passing between it and the heights of Soracte. A few miles further north he crossed the river at the ford "de Malliano," viz., Magliano della Sabina, near the Ponte Felice, not far from which there is still a ford.[1] From the left bank of the Tiber he advanced to the imperial monastery of Farfa, and thence to Poli, some six or seven miles from Tivoli. In the course of his march the emperor destroyed many of the castles of the Roman nobles. Poli, perched on a rock in a valley which cuts deeply into the mount of Guadagnolo, was no doubt one of the strongest of the castles attacked by Frederick. Whether he levelled it also with the ground or not,[2] he

[1] The "passo della punta di Foglia." *Cf.* the map attached to Gell's *The Topography of Rome*.

[2] Frederick himself, in his letter to Otto, tells us of the surrender to him of "all the fortified places around Rome," but the only writer who tells us of this destruction of fortresses is the anonymous author of the *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 753 ff., and he does not give the names of any of the strongholds destroyed:

> "Urbeque dimissa, confinia circuit, altas
> Confringens, turres, quas incola fecerat urbis,
> Ut proprias villas his posset ab hoste tueri
> Tutius atque aliis, cuperet si quando noceret."

For Frederick's itinerary, see Boso, and Otto, ii. 34. *Cf.* Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, p. 210 ff. (London, 1909), for an account of Poli and its district, viz., Guadagnolo, Saracinesco, Anticoli, and Castel Faustiniano, which in 1208 came into the hands of the Conti family (*i.e.*, the family of which Innocent III. was such a distinguished

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marched from it to Ponte Lucano, about a mile south-west of Tivoli, where the Via Tiburtina (or Valeria) crosses the Anio. In a green and pleasant vale by the ancient and picturesque bridge the emperor rested his wearied troops, and, on the feast of St. Peter and Paul, assisted at the Pope's Mass in state, wearing his crown.[1] It is said, writes Bishop Otto, that, on this occasion, Pope Hadrian absolved those who in the conflict with the Romans had shed human blood, on the ground that a soldier who fights in obedience to his commander, against the enemies of the Empire and of the Church, is accounted, by the laws both of God and of man, not a murderer but an avenger (*vindex*).

Frederick leaves Italy, 1155.

With a view no doubt to making another attempt to subdue the Romans themselves, Frederick took up a position between Frascati and Rome. But the unhealthy state of the Campagna in July soon compelled him to retire to the mountains. Accordingly, taking leave of the Pope at Tivoli, he pitched his camp in the Apennines, near the sources of the white waters of the sulphureous Nar.[2] Thence, ravaging Spoleto on his way, he marched to Ancona, where he had an interview with ambassadors from the emperor Manuel, in connection with an alliance against the Normans.[3] Consequently, he made a last effort

member), and "which their former owner, Gregory the Great, had given partly to the monks of Subiaco, and partly to the monks of the Clivus Scauri."

[1] Otto, *l.c.*

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.*, cc. 35, 36; and *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 900 ff. *Cf.* Frederick's own letter to Otto: "Qui (the ambassadors) ut in Apuliam iremus et hostem utriusque imperii Wilhelmum . . . conterere vellemus, infinitam pecuniam nobis dare spoponderunt." It was desire for glory that led the Byzantine emperor Manuel to attempt to regain south Italy for the Empire. *Cf.* Nicetas Chroniates, *Hist.*, vii. 2, p. 265, ed. Bonn, 1835. The history of Nicetas (†*c.* 1216) embraces the period between 1118–1206.

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to induce the princes to march with him into Apulia in order to co-operate with the Greeks, and to lend active support to Robert of Capua, and the other nobles who were in rebellion against William of Sicily. But fever had got the host in its grip, and the princes decided that they must return to Germany — a decision to which, "with bitterness of heart," Frederick had to bow.[1] His year's fighting in Italy had brought him the imperial crown, but it had left Milan, Rome, and William of Sicily all unsubdued.

Tivoli revolts to the emperor.

Whilst Frederick was still in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, that town, always ready to act against the Pope, threw off its allegiance to Hadrian and offered its keys to the emperor. But, appealing to him "as the advocate of the Roman Church," the Pope demanded that the place should be restored to him. Thereupon, "out of reverence for the Prince of the Apostles and for the Pope," the emperor commanded the people to return to their allegiance, "saving in all things the imperial rights."[2]

Frederick is punctilious about the imperial rights, 1155.

Of these "imperial rights" Frederick was extremely jealous, as he showed on another occasion shortly before this. Whilst still near Rome, he was informed that there was a picture in the Lateran palace depicting Lothaire kneeling at the feet of Innocent II. and receiving the imperial crown, and that there was an inscription beneath it setting forth that he had become "the Pope's man," and had received the imperial crown from him. Frederick was mightily displeased, and at once had a friendly altercation with Hadrian, who, seemingly astonished that the emperor

[1] Otto, *ib.*, c. 37. *Cf.* Boso, p. 393; *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 860 ff.; *Ann. Laubienses*, an. 1155, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv. "Revertitur, (et) . . . judicium et justitiam potenter exercuit." Frederick reached Bavaria in September.

[2] Boso, *ib.*

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should make so much out of a trifle, undertook to efface both the picture and the inscription, "in order that so childish a thing (*vana*) might not furnish a cause of quarrel to the greatest men in the world."[1]

[1] Rahewin, iii. 10. "Post homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam." Lothaire became the liegeman of the Pope for the inheritance of the Countess Matilda, and not for the imperial crown. Later on the memory of this picture was said to be one of the causes why Frederick and his nobles misinterpreted a letter of the Pope. *Cf. ib.*, and *infra*, pp. 277, 283.

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CHAPTER III.

THE NORMANS. HADRIAN AS THE GUARDIAN OF THE PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER.

The position of affairs in S. Italy.

THE departure of the emperor had left the Pope in a very precarious position. His coming had done more harm than good to Hadrian's relations with the Romans, and his leaving the peninsula exposed him to the tender mercies of William of Sicily. Frederick's Italian expedition had disappointed many—the Greeks, who had looked for his support against the Normans; the Pope,[1] who had hoped that he would have rendered both the Romans and the Normans submissive; and a number of Norman nobles, both those who, trusting to him, had revolted against William on account of his favouritism; and those who, exiled by his predecessor Roger II., had relied on the emperor's undertaking to restore them.[2]

The Pope allies himself with the enemies of William of Sicily.

Finding the hopes which they had placed in Frederick thus come to naught, the different parties began to act for themselves. The Greeks landed troops in south Italy, and took possession of various strongholds; while the revolted

[1] Both before and after the coronation of Barbarossa, Hadrian had urged him to march against William. *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. Normande*, ii. 198. "Qui (Frederick) ante receptam coronam Papæ promisisset, quod senatores noviter creatos deponeret, Urbem, et regalia b. Petri in illius potestate redigeret etc. Papa vero sua promissione frustratus" marched south to join the Norman nobles who were in rebellion against William. Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, sub an. 1154.

[2] "Exulibus Apuliæ . . . conquerentibus, . . . expeditio Italica tam pro afflictione horum quam pro corona imperii accipienda . . . jurata est." Otto, *Gesta F.*, ii. 7.

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barons of Apulia, whose numbers had been augmented by the excommunication of their sovereign, turned to the Pope. After the departure of the emperor, Hadrian had not been able to return to Rome, but had remained either near Tivoli, or Tusculum, or at Civita Castellana. At one of these places he received the envoys of the revolted barons, who begged him as their suzerain to come into Apulia, and to take themselves and their property under his protection.[1] Hadrian, accordingly, gathering together what forces he could from the nobility of the city and of the Campagna, and from the adjoining towns, marched to San Germano "about the feast of St. Michael"[2] (*c.* September 29). Here and at Sora and at Benevento he received the oaths of allegiance of Robert, Prince of Capua, and other nobles,[3] and about the same time was greeted with an offer of men and money from the Greek emperor on condition that he would hand over to him three maritime cities of Apulia.[4] It would seem likely too that negotiations were at the same time entered into between them for the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches.[5]

[1] Boso. "Majores ejus (the king of Sicily) comites atque barones cum majoribus Apulie civitatibus . . . eo relicto nuncios suos ad d. Adrianum P. tanquam ad principalem dominum destinarunt rogantes ut . . . et terram ipsam, que juris b. Petri esse dinoscitur, ac personas et eorum bona in manu . . . sua reciperet."

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib. Cf. Chron. Ceccan.* (or *Fossæ Novæ*), an. 1155, and Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, *l.c.*

[4] Boso. *Cf.* Cinnamus (1143–c. 1185), *Epitome*, iv. 5, p. 146, ed. Bonn, 1836. The history of Cinnamus, the secretary of Manuel Comnenus, extends from 1118 to 1176. On all the relations between Hadrian and William, see also Will. of Tyre, *Hist. rer. trans.*, xviii. 2, 6–9.

[5] *Cf.* ep. 198 to Basil, archbishop of Thessalonica. Hadrian speaks of the schism, "to which we can hardly refer without a flood of tears," and bids his correspondent note how the holy Fathers, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, decreed that the holy Roman Church should have the full primacy in order to be the centre of union, and to remove all schism,

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William offers terms which are unfortunately rejected.

Alarmed at the combination against him, William endeavoured to make peace with the Pope. If he were freed from excommunication and restored to Hadrian's good graces, he undertook to do homage to him, to give liberty to the churches of his dominions, to make a donation to the Pope of certain places near Benevento, and to induce the Romans to submit to him.[1] Unfortunately, against his own inclinations, but in deference to the views of his cardinals, who regarded the discomfiture of William as certain, Hadrian rejected the king's proffered terms.

William masters the Greeks, etc., and makes terms with the Pope, 1156.

Inspired now with the courage of despair, William marched rapidly into Apulia. The Greeks were utterly defeated, and the forces of the rebels seemed to melt away before the victorious king (April and May 1156).[2]

The Pope was now in a very helpless position. However, he resolved to face it by himself, and, sending the majority of the cardinals into a more safe place in Cam-

"Traditum est quonam modo ss. Patres, divino spiritu illuminati, omnium ecclesiarum primatum sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam absolute obtinere jusserint, et ad ejus sententiam omnium judicium referri præscripserint, et ad tollendam de medio divisionem," etc. Fortunately, the reply of Basil of Achrida is still extant. He says that the Pope's letter shows his boundless charity, and that in it he has recognised the voice of his father, and shepherd, nay, of the Shepherd of shepherds. He has recognised his father's voice because he is still his child, and is not disunited from him, but confesses the faith of Peter. The Pope must not regard the Greeks as sheep that have gone astray. There is the same faith in the East and in the West, there is the same sacrifice. It must be the work of the Pope to remove the slight obstacles which hinder the perfect union of the Greeks and the Latins; and he will find a powerful auxiliary in the emperor whose will all the Greeks obey (ep. Basil, ap. L. Allatius, *De consens. utriusque eccles.*, ii. c. 11, or ap. Baronius, *Annales*, an. 1155. *Cf.* Chalandon, *Jean II. et Manuel I.*, p. 358 ff.). It would seem that, if Basil was in earnest, the Greeks either would not or could not see the gulf which divided them from Rome, and that full submission in matters of faith to the Pope on the one hand or the emperor on the other was the one point which made all the difference.

[1] Boso. [2] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la dom. Nor.*, ii. 226 ff.

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pania, awaited with a trusty few in Benevento the arrival of William.[1] He treated the cardinals in this way, either because he had compassion on their weakness, mindful of the way they had abandoned him on his first encounter with Frederick, or because he feared that they might again adopt the uncompromising attitude towards William which had proved so unfortunate. As soon as the victorious troops of the Sicilian king were descried from the walls of the city, Hadrian sent forward his chancellor, Roland, the cardinal-priest of St. Mark's, and two other cardinals to meet them.[2] They had been instructed to take a high stand, and in the name of Blessed Peter to bid the king to cease from further hostilities, to make atonement for the injuries he had committed, and to leave the rights of the Roman Church undisturbed. William received the legates well, and, after much discussion,[3] the terms of a settlement between the Pope and himself were arranged (June 18).[4]

The treaty of Benevento, June 1156.

In the first place, Hadrian was compelled to recognise certain territorial claims on the part of the Normans which his predecessors had refused to allow. To William and his heirs were conceded "the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, and the princedom of Capua, with all that belonged thereto, Naples, Salerno, and Amalfi, with all that appertained to them, Marsia and other places beyond it,[5]

[1] Boso.

[2] Boso; but, according to William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xviii. 8, the embassy was only sent after a close siege had brought a scarcity of provisions. The authority of Boso, who wrote on the spot, is naturally much greater in this matter than that of William.

[3] Boso, p. 395, "post mutuam diversorum altercationem capitulorum."

[4] The concordat is given ap. Fabre, *Liber Cens.*, i. 376 f., or ap. Watterich, ii. 352 ff.

[5] This district would seem to correspond generally with the two modern Neapolitan provinces of the Abruzzi, stretching along the Adriatic as far as the river Tronto. The district had been annexed by the Normans about the year 1140. *Cf.* Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 44 ff.

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and the other belongings (*tenimenta*) which were legally held by our predecessors, vassals of the holy Roman Church."

While the Pope on his side engaged to help William to hold these territories against all comers, the king on his side did homage to the Pope for them, and undertook to pay a yearly tax of 600 schifati for Apulia and Calabria, and 500 for Marsia.[1]

With regard to the ecclesiastical clauses of the treaty, a distinction was drawn between Apulia and Calabria on the one hand, and Sicily on the other. In the former localities permission was to be given for clerics to appeal to the Pope in ecclesiastical disputes; for translations from see to see to be made with the consent of the Pope; and for the Roman Church to consecrate the bishops and hold visitations of their dioceses, to send legates there, who, however, must not ruin the possessions of the churches, and, finally, to have the right to hold councils in any city, except where the king may chance to be at the time.

In Sicily itself, however, the rights of the Papacy were more restricted. The Roman Church was to have the right of consecration and visitation, and of summoning ecclesiastics to Rome. But with regard to the last-named right, the king was empowered to retain such as he really needed for ecclesiastical purposes or to crown him.[2] Apart from the rights of appeal and of sending legates, which were only to be exercised at the request of the king, the

[1] The sum paid for Marsia seems to have been only 400 schifati, *i.e.*, 1000 schifati altogether were paid. *Cf.* Fabre, *ib.*, p. 16. The schifatus, an imperial coin, convex in shape like a shield, was worth about a quarter of an ounce of Sicilian gold, and was reckoned as equivalent to eight golden taris; hence the 1000 schifati were worth about 266 ounces of Sicilian gold and 20 taris, as the tari was $\frac{1}{30}$ of an ounce.

[2] "Si de Sicilia personas aliquas ecclesiastici ordinis vocaverit, magnificentia nostra nostrorumque heredum pro christianitate facienda vel pro suscipienda corona, remoto malo ingenio, retinebit quas providerit retinendas." Ap. Watterich, ii. 353.

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Church was to have in Sicily all the remaining privileges which it had in the other parts of the king's realms. In the matter of elections the clergy were to choose suitable persons, and submit their names to the king, who was to approve of them unless they were "from some cause or other" distasteful to him.[1]

In these negotiations Hadrian did not forget the Norman nobles who had acted with him, and who had fled to Benevento for protection. At his intercession William agreed to allow them to leave his kingdom in possession of their freedom and of all their property.[2]

Hadrian meets William, June 18.

When the terms of peace had been arranged, Hadrian left Benevento with the few cardinals he had still with him and went to the Church of St. Marcian, near the river Calore. Here, in the presence of all his nobles, William took the oath of fealty to the Pope, which Oddo Frangipane read out for him, and with three banners was duly invested with Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, and the principality of Capua. Before the Pope and the king parted, the former showed his goodwill to his new liegeman by subjecting the churches of Agrigentum and

[1] "Si persona illa (the elect of the clergy) de proditoribus aut inimicis nostris . . . non fuerit, aut magnificentiæ nostræ non extiterit odiosa, vel *aliæ in ea causa non fuerit*, pro quo non debeamus assentire." *Ib.*, p. 354. On the ground that they were opposed "to the apostolic dignity," and "to ecclesiastical liberty," Innocent III. availed himself of the minority of Frederick II. to get these objectionable concessions annulled. "Super quatuor capitulis, videlicet, electionibus, legationibus, apellationibus et conciliis, . . . mandavit imperatrici (Constance, the mother of Frederick II.) ut illis capitulis renuntiaret omnino." *Gesta Inn.*, c. 21, p. xxxii, ap. *P. L.*, t. 214.

[2] "Comitem Robertum . . . et reliquos inimicos suos, qui Beneventum ad d. Papam confugerant, ejusdem Papæ precibus liberos et illæsos cum rebus suis de regno exire permisit." So speaks the local writer, Romuald of Salerno, *l.c.* William of Tyre (*Hist.*, xviii. 8) is then evidently mistaken when he says that Hadrian, in making peace with William, had no concern for his Norman allies.

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Mazarium, which were immediately dependent on the Holy See, to the archiepiscopal see of Palermo (Panormus),[1] while the king on his side gave great presents of gold, silver, and silk to the Pope and his court.[2]

Hadrian wins back temporal authority over Orvieto.

After solemnly confirming the treaty,[3] which was in the main more favourable than he might have hoped for, Hadrian, keeping to the mountains, moved north, and reached Narni at the beginning of August. Henceforth, free from enemies near home, he steadily devoted himself to strengthening his temporal authority over the Patrimony of St Peter and to its material development, and that too despite his further difficulties with Barbarossa, which will be recounted in the next chapter.

From Narni he went to Orvieto, which, after a long period of independence, he had only recently won back to the allegiance of the Holy See. As it was generally believed that the city had never yet been visited by a Pope, it was felt that the best means of securing its loyalty would be for Hadrian to take up his abode there for a time. This expectation was not disappointed. The people of Orvieto, headed by one of the Farnese family,[4] gave the Pope a most hearty welcome, and were in turn treated by him with the most affectionate kindness.[5]

Hadrian's places of abode.

On the approach of winter, Hadrian left Orvieto, and returning to Rome, where he was received with becoming

[1] "Quæ (the city of Palermo) solo fere nomine usque modo metropolis habebatur," says Hadrian in his bull. Ep. 203.

[2] Romuald, *l.c.*, and Boso.

[3] See his letter ap. Watterich, ii. 355 ff.; ep. 202; Jaffé, 10193.

[4] On this family, see Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes*, xi. p. 14 ff.

[5] See the convention afterwards made between the people of Orvieto and the Pope. *Liber. Cens.*, i. 390 f. Among other conditions to which the people of Orvieto agreed was one by which they bound themselves to serve in the Pope's army from "Tintihano" (Tizzano? only an insignificant place between Pistoja and Florence) to Sutri: "In expeditionibus d. Papæ servient ei a Tintihano usque Sutrium."

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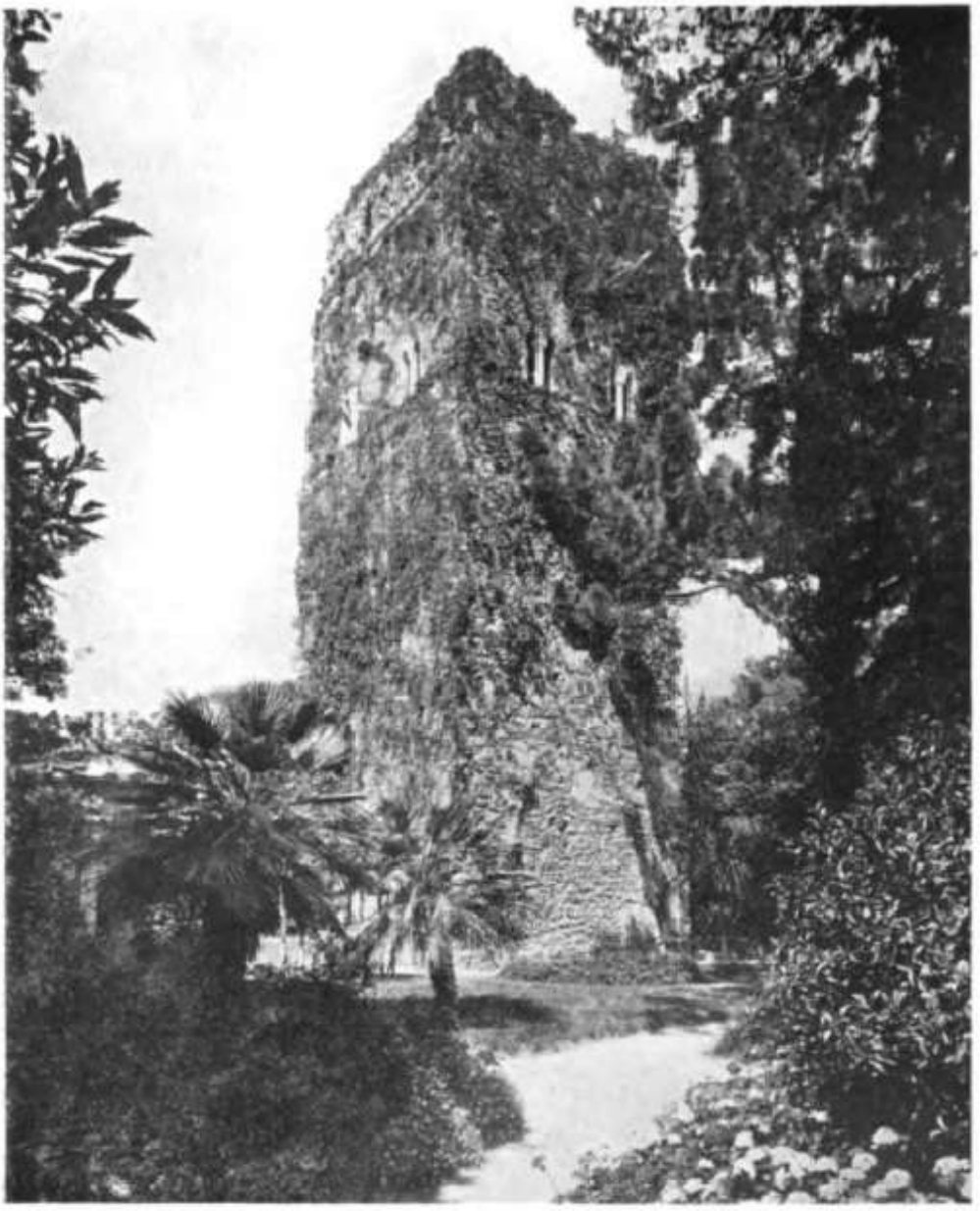

Photo V.P.G.

Ravello. The Tower of the Palazzo Rufolo, wherein Hadrian IV. is said to have resided.

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honour, took up his permanent residence at the Lateran palace.[1] Here he stayed for the rest of his life, only leaving it in the summer heats for some hill-town, Segni or Anagni, Narni or Sutri, or, as it is said, picturesque Ravello,[2] where the remains of the castle[3] in which he resided are still shown.

Hadrian as guardian of the Patrimony.

Hadrian's summer visits to different parts of the Patrimony of St. Peter enabled him to see what was needed for its improvement, and he accordingly devoted what leisure he could find to bettering both it and the city.

At the south end of the transept of old St. Peter's was the chapel of St. Processus, and at the north end were the baptismal fonts of the basilica.[4] As the roof of the saint's chapel was out of repair, it would seem that, when reconstructing it, Hadrian made it equal in height to the main roof of the transept, and that to keep right the proportions of the transept, he raised in like manner the roof of the baptistery at its other extremity. In the Lateran palace also he effected many improvements, adding to it, for instance, what Boso calls "a very necessary and very large tank"; and in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian he consecrated a new altar-stone which had been placed on top of the one which St. Gregory I. had consecrated there over five hundred years before.

But he did not confine himself to repairing or erecting churches in Rome or its immediate neighbourhood. He sent sculptors (*pro incidendis lapidibus et columnellis*) as

[1] Boso. Here Boso's detailed story of Hadrian's life comes to an abrupt close. The few remaining paragraphs of his biography simply give a list of the improvements he effected in the Patrimony and of the ordinations he held. They close with a brief notice of his death.

[2] Ravello is splendidly situated on a ridge up a ravine between Minori and Atrani. As some slight confirmation of the tradition of Hadrian's visit to Ravello we may note his grant of a privilege to its bishop. Ep. 141.

[3] The Palazzo Rufolo.

[4] *L. P.*, i. 266, n. 20.

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far as Pisa, "which had shown itself so devoted to its predecessors," that they might there erect a monastery.[1] By these and other similar attentions to churches, Hadrian has furnished us with additional proof of the continued vitality of the Roman school of art, and that he at least did not merit the reproach which John of Salisbury tells us[2] was levelled at some of the Popes, viz., that they built palaces whilst the churches were falling to ruin.

On May 29, 1153, the abbot of Monte Amiata had made over, on certain conditions, "the quaint volcanic mountain-knoll" of Radicofani to Eugenius III.[3] With walls which seem still to defy time, with towers and a deep ditch, Hadrian rendered this a strong fortress. He took similar steps with regard to Orcle (Orchia), now Castella d'Orchia, midway between Bieda and Toscanella. This place had been abandoned by its inhabitants, and had become a den of thieves. At great expense Hadrian repeopled and fortified it.[4]

Besides erecting a chapel at Ponte Lucano, and supplying it with all the necessaries for the celebration of Mass, we are assured by Boso that "Hadrian greatly increased the Patrimony of Blessed Peter" by the purchase of land and buildings. His biographer proceeds to give several examples of the Pope's acquisitions, and it is interesting to find that his accuracy is attested by many of the original deeds of purchase that have survived to our time in the *Liber Censuum* of Cencius.[5] Finally, he augmented the papal property by the lands which he inherited from

[1] Ep. 95.

[2] *Polycrat.*, vi. 24, p. 264. Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i. 328, assigns the portico of SS. Giovanni e Paolo to Hadrian (1158).

[3] See the deed of gift, ap. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, iii. p. 636, or Fabre, *Lib. Cens.*, i. 380 ff.

[4] Boso. *Cf.* document No. 113, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 395 f.

[5] Nos. 98–104, ap. ed. Fabre, i. 385 ff.

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certain nobles who, either in admiration or fear of his character, or to secure his protection, made over all their possessions to him by formal legal documents.[1]

After they had thus been put into his hands, they were generally again made over to their late owners as fiefs; and, even when they had originally been taken by force, they were often given back in the same way. A certain Adenulf of Aquapuzza, near Sezza, the Setia of the Volscians, thought himself strong enough to defy the Pope. But a force of horse and foot was at once sent out from Rome against him, under the treasurer (*camerarius*) Boso, cardinal-deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian.[2] The baron held out for a long time, but was at length compelled to surrender unconditionally. The papal banner was planted on his tower, and he himself, with bare feet and a rope round his neck, handed over his castle to Hadrian by presenting him with a myrtle bough. "Then, with the customary clemency of the Apostolic See, the Pope invested the aforesaid Adenulf with his castle as a fief."[3]

Besides imparting the blessings of law and order to the Patrimony generally, Hadrian endeavoured to impress

[1] "Totam etiam eorundem comitum terram, sicut continetur in publico eorum instrumento, quod est in archivis repositum, in propriam b. Petri hereditatem per ipsorum spontaneam donationem accepit." Boso. The said counts received back their lands from the Pope as fiefs, swearing to make peace or war at the command of the Pope, to observe the Truce of God, to keep the highway open, and not to injure churches, hospitals, Templars, monks, etc. See the deed of enfeoffment, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 389 f. Their *donation* was really a restitution. "Taliter eas vobis concedimus pro multis et gravibus offensis quas vobis d. Papæ vestrisque predecessoribus et curie Romane sepe fecimus. Et quia easdem . . . terras de jure et dominio b. Petri aperte fuisse comperimus, ideoque eas vobis libere restituimus." See one of their deeds, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 389, ed. Fabre.

[2] This is the papal biographer. It is quite possible that occupations of this sort prevented him from completing his *Life* of Hadrian.

[3] This was in 1158. See the document, apparently an extract from Hadrian's lost register, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 427.

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them on those with whom he came into daily contact. Documents, for instance, are extant[1] which show that he reorganised the schola of the *ostiarii*, doorkeepers or guardians, of the Lateran palace, and of the basilicas of St. Lawrence and St. Silvester. He placed them under the control of the *camerarius*, and made them take a solemn oath to be true to the Pope, to guard the places committed to their charge during his life or at his death, and not to steal any of his property or that of the places entrusted to them.[2]

If only Hadrian's organising power had been spared to the Roman See for a long period of years, there can be no doubt that the power and resources of the Roman pontiffs at home would have been very greatly enhanced!

[1] Nos. 158–9, ap. *ib.*, pp. 419–20, with Fabre's notes thereto.

[2] "Non furabor . . . de reliquiis, auro, argento, gemmis, palliis, ornamentis, libris, cartulis, oleo, plumbo, ferro, ere, lapidibus, portis, lignis, tabulis, ipsius palatii et earundem ecclesiarum et Romanorum, PP." No. 158.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE DIET OF BESANÇON. THE POPE AND THE LOMBARDS AGAINST BARBAROSSA. DEATH OF HADRIAN.

ALTHOUGH Frederick had left Italy as the friend of the Pope, the good understanding between them did not last long. One perhaps all-sufficient cause of this was the character of the two men. The emperor had the highest opinion of his dignity, and was resolved that all and everything should bend before it. This opinion was not lessened by his imperial coronation, but, on the contrary, as one chronicler expresses it, "the lord of the earth felt raised to the very heavens."[1] Hadrian on his side regarded himself as the Father of all Christians, and as the Shepherd of the entire flock of Christ, and believed that it was for him to reprimand any of his erring children, whether they were kings or peasants.

Causes of fresh trouble between the Pope and the emperor.

Hence when in June 1156 Frederick, possibly illegally, married the beautiful Beatrice, daughter of Reinhold,

(*a*) The second marriage of Frederick.

[1] One of the continuators of Sigebert of Gemblours: "Floret imperium, et dominus rerum sublimis attolitur." *Auct. Afflig.*, an. 1155, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160. John of Salisbury (ep. 59, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 39), from Frederick's own words, gives us a clear insight into his ambitious aims. He wished "to reduce the whole world beneath his power," and he was convinced he could do this, if he could get a Pope to act in accordance with his desires, and strike with the spiritual sword those whom he struck with the temporal. But, adds John, he has so far not found such a Pope. "Sed scio quid Teutonicus moliatur. Eram enim Romæ, præsidente b. Eugenio, quando . . . tanti ausi impudentiam tumor intolerabilis et lingua incauta detexit. Promittebat enim se . . . urbi subjiciendum orbem, eventuque facili omnia subacturum, si ei ad hoc solius Romani pontificis favor adesset," etc.

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count of Burgundy,[1] he fell under the displeasure of the Pope. His first wife was Adelheid or Adelaide of Vohburg, and her, with the consent of his bishops, and, according to Otto of Frising, of certain papal legates,[2] he had, in the opinion of many, *unjustly* divorced.[3] Up to the time of his marriage with Beatrice, it might have been supposed that he was content with a mere separation from Adelaide, but after that it was obvious that he had repudiated his marriage with her altogether. At this point Hadrian took the matter up; but it would seem that a little inquiry must have proved that the marriage was in order; for no mention of it occurs in any of the incriminating letters which, as we shall soon see, Hadrian addressed to the emperor, or in any official document of the period which has come down to us.[4]

[1] Otto of Fris., *Gesta*, ii. 48. The *Ann. Egmundani* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi., an. 1158) say that Frederick married again, "relicta legitima conjuge." See also the *Ann. S. Disibod.*, an. 1156, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.: "Repudiata priore legitima uxore . . . unde in ecclesia gravissimum exorta est scisma." The beauty and accomplishments of Beatrice are greatly praised by the chroniclers (Morena, etc.), and extolled by the poets:

> "Que Venerem forma superabat, mente Minervam
> Junonemque opibus. Numquam fuit altera talis,
> Excepta domini Jhesu genitrice Maria."
>
> *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 1111 ff.

[2] "Per apostolicæ sedis legatos ab uxore sua, ob vinculum consanguinitatis separatus fuerat," not long before Sept. 1153. *Gesta F.*, ii. 11. The *Contin. Sanblasiana* of Otto says (c. 10) she was repudiated for conjugal infidelity, "causa fornicationis sepius infamatam, repudiavit." Innocent III. (*Regist.*, v. 50, ap. *P. L.*, t. 214, p. 1015) states expressly that the case was in order: "Imperator (Frederick) . . . ab ea quae conjux dicebatur ipsius, etc., licet in regno Teutonico, fuit tamen per legatos sedis apostolicæ separatus," etc.

[3] "Uxorem suam *injuste* dimisit, et inde magnam sibi calamitatem paravit." Sigebert, *Contin. Aquicinctina*, an. 1156, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160. *Cf.* other chronicles, ap. Watterich, ii. 356 n., and Burchardi et Conradi *Urspergensium Chron.*, p. 24, ed. Pertz, Hanover, 1874.

[4] The *Contin. Aquicinctina* indeed, after asserting (ad an. 1156) that Hadrian took Frederick to task on the subject of the divorce, goes

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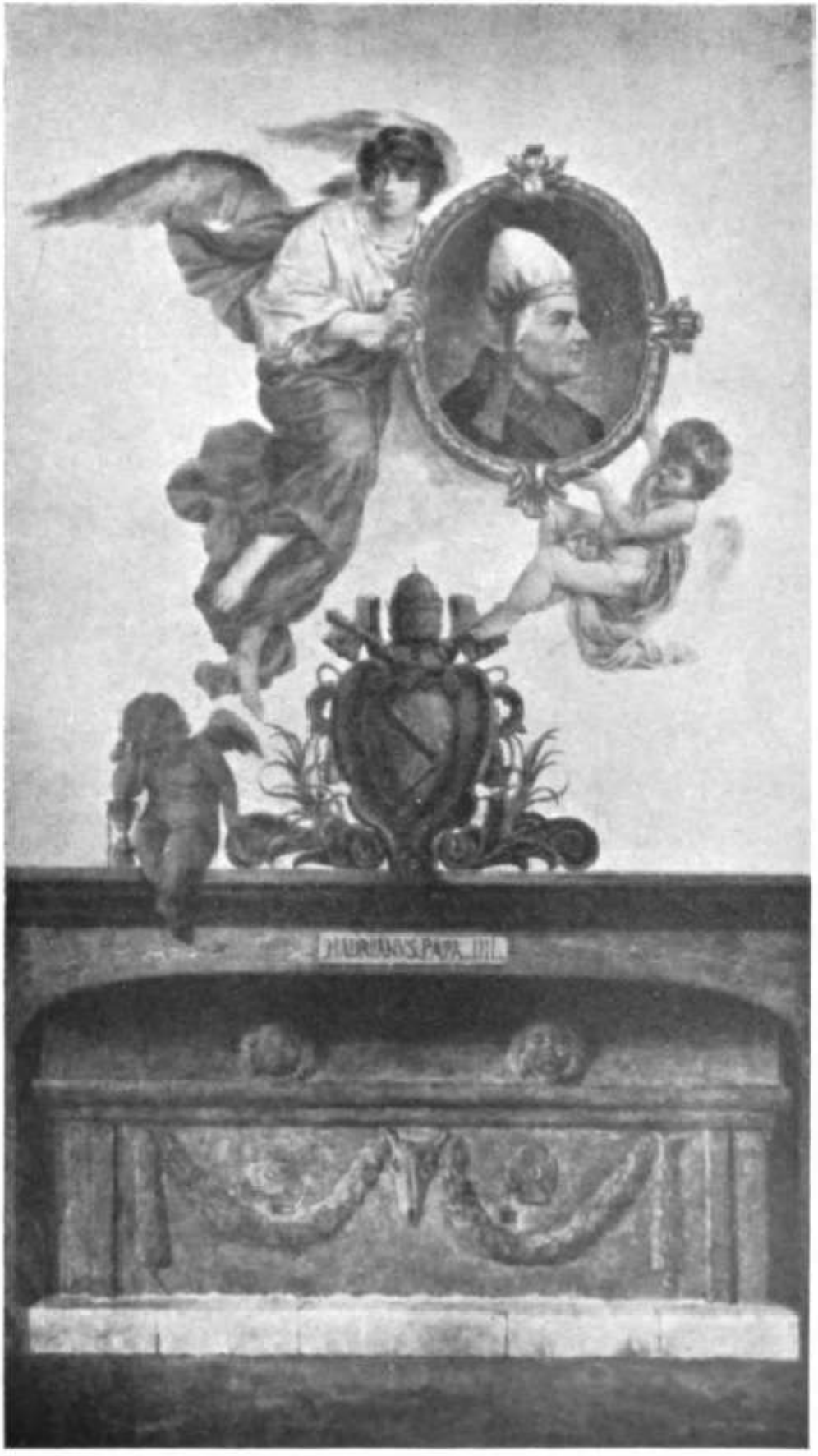

The Tomb of Hadrian IV. and his Portrait from a Mosaic.
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(δ) Other causes.

But while we cannot do more than suppose that Frederick was irritated at the legality of his marriage with Beatrice being called in question, it is certain that he was very angry at Hadrian's treaty with the Normans.[1] He maintained that the Pope had, by this concordat, proved himself false to the agreement of Constance, though, as it has been pertinently pointed out, it is difficult to conjecture what he expected Hadrian to do; "for the Pope had asked for the emperor's help, and, that refused, he was by all the rules of war entitled to make the best terms for himself."[2] Finally—for we are told that when men are determined to quarrel a straw will furnish the occasion—Frederick proclaimed his profound annoyance at Innocent's picture of Lothaire's coronation.[3]

The treatment of Archbishop Eskill, 1157.

That ill-will towards Rome was gaining ground with Frederick could not long remain unknown to Hadrian. He accordingly wrote to Abbot Wibald in the beginning of

on to say (ad an. 1158) that he excommunicated him for his second marriage. But the course of this narrative will show that Hadrian died before actually excommunicating Frederick. Mackie, *Adrian*, p. 76, asserts that a letter (ep. 388 of the ed. of Martène and Durand) of Wibald makes the match with Beatrice the cause of the grave schism which subsequently vexed the Roman Church; but he is mistaken. The letter in question, which is ep. 411 of Jaffé's ed. (ap. *Mon. Corb.*, p. 550), is concerned with a proposed marriage between Frederick and a daughter of the Greek emperor Manuel. Wibald does not seem to have mentioned any trouble concerning Frederick's marriage with Beatrice.

[1] "Molestissime tulit," says Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 199. *Cf.* the letter of the German bishops to Hadrian, ap. Rahewin, iii. 17; and especially Gerhoh, *De investigatione Antichristi*, i. c. 56, ap. *Mon. Ger. Libell.*, iii. 366–7, and *Opusc. ad cardinales*, ap. *ib.*, p. 405; though in the latter place he acknowledges that Hadrian could scarcely help making a treaty with William: "sub cujus gladio tunc erant, et fortasse aliter exire non poterant."

[2] Tarleton, pp. 205–6.

[3] This is put forward as one of the causes of the quarrel between Hadrian and Frederick by the *Chron. regia Coloniensis*, an. 1156 or 7. See also Rahewin, iii. cc. 9 and 17. *Cf. supra*, pp. 41, 270 f.

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the year 1157 exhorting him with all prudence to admonish the emperor to continue to display due respect to the Apostolic See.[1] This, however, was beyond Wibald's power, and an event occurred some eight months after the despatch of this letter which furnished Frederick with an excuse for a violent display of temper. The spark which caused the fiery monarch's smouldering discontent to burst into vigorous flame was a letter from the Pope.[2]

Capture of Archbishop Eskill.

One of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of the north of Europe at this time was Eskill, archbishop of Lund. When this aged prelate was returning home after a visit to Hadrian, he was seized in Burgundy by one of those robber nobles who were the plague of travellers and of all honest men. The bishop was not only stripped of all he had, but maltreated, and, for the sake of a ransom, thrown into a dungeon. The emperor was appealed to, but took no steps to punish the culprit.[3] With his English love of justice, Hadrian was very indignant at this treatment of Eskill, and sent to Frederick a letter of remonstrance by two cardinals, the famous Roland, cardinal of St. Mark and chancellor of the Holy See, and Bernard, cardinal of St. Clement.[4]

The diet of Besançon, Oct. 1157.

The cardinals found Frederick at Besançon, whither he had gone to arrange the county of Burgundy, which he had received along with Beatrice, and appear to have given umbrage to a prince already prone to take offence by the style of their address, in which they put themselves on a level with the emperor. "The most blessed Pope Hadrian and

[1] Ep. 123 or ep. 454, inter epp. Wib., January 19, 1157.

[2] Ep. 143.

[3] Otto of St. Blaise ("about half-way between Basle and Constance"), c. 8. *Cf.* Hadrian's letter, ep. 143.

[4] *Ib.* Otto adds that these two cardinals were among the most distinguished of the Roman Church "ambo divitiis, maturitate, et gravitate insignes."

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all the cardinals salute you," said they, "he as your father, they as your brethren." They then read the Pope's letter. Expressing his astonishment that, despite a previous letter on the subject, the emperor has still left the outrage on Eskill unpunished, Hadrian declared that he was at a loss to understand his negligence, since he was not conscious of having done anything against the imperial majesty, but, on the contrary, had ever cherished him as his special son, and as a most Christian Prince. "You ought, most glorious son, to call to mind with what joy your mother, the holy Roman Church, received you the other year . . . what plenitude of dignity and honour she bestowed upon you, and how, conferring upon you the imperial crown, she strove with maternal love to exalt your glory. . . . We do not regret to have fulfilled your desires in everything, but if you could possibly have received greater benefits (*beneficia*) at our hands, we should only have been too glad to have bestowed them, seeing what advantage could come to the Church of God and to us through you."[1]

Thereupon, whether simply because it had been resolved to pick a quarrel with the Holy See, or because the imperial chancellor, Reinald of Dassel, in translating the letter into German for the benefit of those who knew not Latin, had purposely or accidentally given it a wrong sense, the assembly became violently angry. They thought, or pretended to think, that the word *beneficia* had been used in its feudal sense of a fief (*Lehen* in German), and that consequently the Pope had professed to be the emperor's suzerain, and, as such, to have conferred the empire upon him as a fief. And when, as though poking the fire with a

[1] Ep. 143, ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, or ap. Rahewin, iii. c. 9. "Neque tamen pœnitet nos desideria tuæ voluntatis in omnibus implevisse, sed si majora beneficia excellentia tua de manu nostra suscepisset, si fieri posset, considerantes, quanta ecclesiæ Dei et nobis per te incrementa possint et commodo provenire, non immerito gauderemus."

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sword,[1] one of the legates *is said* to have asked: "From whom did he receive the empire, if not from the Pope?" the anger of the assembled princes became tumultuous. Barbarossa himself is said to have blurted out in his rage: "Were we not in church, you should find how German steel bites"; and Otho of Wittlesbach, the Count Palatine, actually drew his sword, and, but for the emperor's intervention, would have slain the legate on the spot.[2]

The Pope's legates sent back to Rome.

The next day the legates were ordered to return direct to Rome, turning neither to the right nor to the left, nor stopping on the way.[3] In giving this order Frederick's chief object was no doubt to prevent the cardinals from showing to everyone what a childish or malicious interpretation had been given to the letter of which they had been the bearers, and from telling all they met that, in defiance of the law of nations, the sacred property of ambassadors had been seized by the emperor.[4] It would also appear that it was reported that he had forbidden any of his subjects to go to Rome.[5]

Frederick's version of the Besançon affair, Oct. 1157.

When Barbarossa had thus rid himself of those who could best have given him the lie direct, he scattered

[1] "Quasi gladium igni adderet, dixisse *ferunt* unum de legatis: A quo ergo habet, si a d. Papa non habet imperium." Rahewin, iii. 10.

[2] *Ib.* But again there is the note of uncertainty in our authority. He is not sure who it was who attempted to kill the legate: "Otto . . . ut dicebatur." On this Besançon affair see also the letter of Roland, when Alexander III., to Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux (April 1, 1160), and that of Frederick (ap. *ib.*, c. 11). Innocent III., ep. ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 1029, gives Frederick's words.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] In his version of the Besançon episode which Barbarossa published for the enlightenment of the empire, he euphemistically declared that documents belonging to the legates "had been found." "Multa paria literarum apud eos *reperta sunt*." *Ib.*, c. 11. Only a few years ago the French Government was guilty of a precisely similar breach of honour and law.

[5] Ep. 148, ap. *P. L.*, or ap. Rahewin, *l.c.*, iii. 16

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broadcast a most misleading statement of what had occurred at the diet. Not one word did he say of the principal object of the coming of the papal legates, viz., to protest against the ill-treatment of Eskill, but he gave out that the peace of the Church, which it was the business of the Empire to guard, was being broken by the head of the Church. He was "the cause of dissension, the seed of evil, the poison of pestiferous disease," and his legates at Besançon, so the imperial manifesto insinuated, had declared that Frederick held "the imperial crown as a benefice from the lord Pope."[1] Upon these legates, averred the emperor, many letters similar to one another *were found*, as well as sealed but blank forms which could be filled up at their discretion, and which, in accordance with their usual custom, they could use to plunder the churches. In conclusion, after asserting that he held the kingdom and the Empire by the election of the princes from God alone, and that he was striving to rescue the honour and liberty of the churches from oppression, he called upon all to condole with him on the affront that had been put upon the Empire, and not to suffer its honour to be lessened by such an unheard-of innovation.

This intemperate document—in which, "much to his discredit," Frederick not only "allowed the error as to *beneficia* to go uncorrected,"[2] but even emphasised it—no doubt produced the desired effect upon those who were unacquainted with what had really taken place at Besançon. Much ill feeling at any rate was aroused against Rome.

The legates with the Pope, and his letter to the German hierarchy.

Meanwhile, the legates had informed the Pope of what had happened, and, according to Rahewin,[3] had made bad

[1] "Quicunque nos imperialem coronam *pro beneficio* a d. Papa suscepisse dixeret, divinæ institutione . . . contrarius est." Ap. Rahewin, *l.c.*, iii. 11.

[2] Tarleton, p. 214.

[3] *Gesta Frid.*, iii. 15. No notice is here taken of the letters *said* to

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appear worse in order that he might act strongly in their behalf. Though an imperial minority among the cardinals accused the envoys of carelessness or incompetency, Hadrian stood by them, and at once wrote to the bishops of Germany exhorting them to bring Frederick back to a sense of his duty, and to insist on his causing the imperial chancellor and the Count Palatine to make condign satisfaction for the outrages they had offered to two such distinguished cardinals. They were also to impress upon the emperor that, whatever storms may arise, the Roman Church will ever remain firm on the rock on which God has set it.[1]

The German bishops' reply to the Pope.

Thus appealed to both by the emperor and by the Pope, the German bishops endeavoured to please both parties, though they had the honesty to commence their reply to the Pope by acknowledging that "they were very weak and timid."[2] And they certainly proved their cowardice by proceeding to pretend that they too, who were supposed to understand Latin, believed Hadrian's letter to have been really ambiguous, and that "saving thy grace, most holy father, on account of the sinister interpretation which its ambiguity permits, we do not dare nor are we able to defend or to approve its language." They had, however, they continued, received the Pope's letter with becoming reverence, and had admonished the emperor in accordance with its terms. In reply, he had assured them that he would pay due respect to his father, but that "the free crown of our Empire was a divine benefice (*fief*) only," and

have been written by Frederick and Hadrian to Hillinus, archbishop of Trier, about this time, as they are allowed to be apocryphal, nor of the theory which rests on them that Frederick thought of establishing a national Church with a German Pope. *Cf.* Hefele, *Conciles*, vii. 344 ff., Fr. ed.

[1] *Ib.*, c. 16.

[2] "Nos tamen infirmiores et pusillanimes." *Ib.*, c. 17, al. 16.

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that to the Pope it simply belonged to anoint him as emperor. He further declared that he had not dismissed the legates in contempt of his father and consecrator, but that he could not allow them to proceed with the writings they had in their possession or were about to compose[1] to the dishonour of the Empire.

Then, after some quibbling with regard to Frederick's prohibition of intercourse with the Pope, the bishops proceeded to tell Hadrian that the emperor had denounced Innocent's picture of Lothaire's coronation, and the peace with William of Sicily. With regard to the Count Palatine and the chancellor, the former, they said, had left Germany for Italy to prepare for another expedition there, and the latter, averring that he had stood by the legates when their lives were in danger, now spoke in a most pacific strain.

In conclusion, they implored the Pope to pity their weakness, and to write to the emperor in a style which would remove the bitterness of his former letter.

Hadrian reopens negotiations with Frederick, spring 1158.

According to Rahewin,[2] it was the news which reached Hadrian that another expedition of Frederick into Italy was imminent that moved him to follow the advice of the German bishops and to write a conciliatory letter to the emperor. But, according to Hadrian himself, he acted in this matter "at the instigation of our beloved son, Henry,

[1] "Sed cum his et pro his quæ et scripta et *scribenda* ferebant in dedecus et scandalum imperii nostri ultra eos prodire pati nolumus." *Ib.* Documents *yet to be written* were on a par with pictures, and ludicrously bad translations as a cause of quarrel.

[2] III. 18. The news of Frederick's coming would seem also to have had the result of causing the senators to repair part of the walls of Rome. At any rate, an inscription found near the Porta Metrone proves that repairs were made to the walls in 1157: "Anno 1157 incarnat. D.N.J.C., S.P.Q.R. menia vetustate dilapsa restauravit senatore Sasso Johs. de Alberico," etc. *Cf.* Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 78. Control his statements by those of Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di mezzo*, i. 38 f.

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duke of Bavaria and Saxony."[1] As bearers of this explanatory epistle, he selected Cardinals Henry of SS. Nereus and Achilles, and Hyacinth of S. Maria in Cosmedin, who, as the imperial historian would have us believe, were more accomplished diplomatists than Roland and Bernard. On their way north the legates had an interview with the imperial agents, the Count Palatine Otho and the chancellor Reinald, who had entered Italy to receive the submission of the cities in preparation for the coming of the emperor. In boastful strain the imperial envoys thereupon wrote to inform their master that "the whole country was trembling before them," and advised him on no account to receive the papal envoys into full favour at once, because "God had so improved the state of his affairs that if he chose he could both destroy Rome and work his will with regard to the Pope and the cardinals."[2] They also told Frederick that, "on the Sunday on which *Jubilate* is sung (May 11)," they were expecting a number of senators and nobles from Rome, along with Otho, the nephew of Cardinal Octavian,[3] who were to bring them favourable overtures from the people.

Animated by such sentiments, Barbarossa's agents naturally took no thought to provide for the safety of the Pope's legates. Nor did they trouble themselves when

[1] Ep. 181, or ap. Rahewin, iii. 23. Rahewin himself tells us of Henry's "love for the Holy Roman Church." Otto of St. Blaise, c. 9, says that Hadrian's pacific letter was the result of an embassy sent to him by the princes of the Empire, who were afraid that if "the controversy between the Church and the Empire waxed greater the commonwealth would be ruined."

[2] "In tali statu Deus vos in præsenti constituit, quod si vultis et Romam destruere et de papa et cardinalibus omnem vestram voluntatem habere." Ap. Sudendorf, *Registrum*, ii. 131 ff., in Watterich, ii. 365. The full text is given also by Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. select.*, 4 Bänd., 116 ff.

[3] Afterwards the antipope, Victor IV.

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they were seized in the valley of the Adige by two robber-barons who imagined that, because the emperor was ill-disposed towards the Holy See, they would be permitted to perpetrate any outrage on it or its servants.[1] The two cardinals remained in chains till the brother of Cardinal Hyacinth offered himself as a hostage for them. Fortunately, the barbarism of the counts was well punished by Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria, who "for love of the Holy Roman Church, and the honour of the Empire" compelled them to make satisfaction for their iniquities.[2]

Frederick receives a second embassy from the Pope, June 1158.

It was at Augsburg that the new legates met Barbarossa, who, now free from the influence of his chancellor, Reinald,[3] showed himself more reasonable. He must also have been mollified by the cardinals' demeanour, who, we are told, showed their respect for him by their looks, tone of voice, and opening words.[4] This time they did not say that the cardinals saluted him as brothers, but as the lord and emperor of the city and the world, though they did unhesitatingly declare that it was in the full conviction that it had done no wrong that the Roman Church had unwillingly borne his indignation. They then handed the Pope's letter to the venerable episcopal historian, Otto, bishop of Frising, to be read and interpreted. If it had fallen to the lot of this man ("who was deeply grieved at the quarrel between the Church and the Empire")[5] to interpret Hadrian's previous letter, history would not have known any "Besançon incident."

Hadrian's explanatory letter, 1158.

The Pope commenced his letter by saying that from the beginning of his pontificate he had done his best for

[1] Rahewin, *Gesta*, iii. 21.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.* Reinald, no doubt, was one of the chief of those evil counsellors of the emperor to whom Hadrian alludes in his letter to the German bishops and in his second letter to Barbarossa.

[4] *Ib.*, c. 22. "Illi reverenter ac demisso vultu, voce modesta," etc.

[5] *Ib.*

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the honour of the emperor, and that consequently he was profoundly astonished at the treatment which had been meted out to two of the best and most distinguished of his brethren. And they had been thus discourteously treated, he understood, on account of the word "beneficium," which ought not to have troubled the mind of anyone, much less that of an emperor. Hadrian then declared that the word ought to have been understood in its natural sense of good deed, which was the signification he had attached to it, and that he had not used any word in a feudal or technical sense. But, he added, if it were true that the emperor had restrained ecclesiastics from visiting the Roman Church, he trusted that he now recognised how unsuitably he had acted.[1]

This gentle but dignified answer of the Pope turned

[1] Ep. 181, or ap. Rahewin, iii. 23. This simple but firm explanation of the facts of the case, which Gregorovius does not venture to give at any length, he describes as the work of "a pedant or grammarian." *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 555. Mackie (p. 89) finds it "hard to believe that he (the Pope) acted quite ingenuously in this matter." But if to the external evidence of Hadrian's declaration that he wrote without any *arrière pensée* be added considerations drawn both from the general purport of the letter itself, and from the context and grammatical construction of the passages which were challenged, it appears to us impossible to believe that he did not act in perfect good faith. Hadrian's conduct must be judged on its own merits, and not on the unauthorised sayings or doings of others. Lest, however, anyone might be led from this particular opinion of Mr. Mackie's, to which we have here called attention, to misjudge his attitude towards Hadrian, we will cite the words with which he concludes his acccount of the Besançon episode: "If his (Hadrian's) character has seemed to suffer a stain in the quarrel which arose at Besançon, it is gloriously redeemed in the final act of the great drama. For the cool courage and the iron resolution of the Englishman shine out more gloriously than ever as he rises undaunted to face the mightiest lord in Christendom" (p. 90). The English reader will find the Besançon documents carefully translated in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, p. 410 ff., or in Thatcher and M'Neal, *A Source-book for Medieval Hist.*, p. 183 ff., though in the former he will find Lyon for Lund, Cosmide for Cosmedin, etc.

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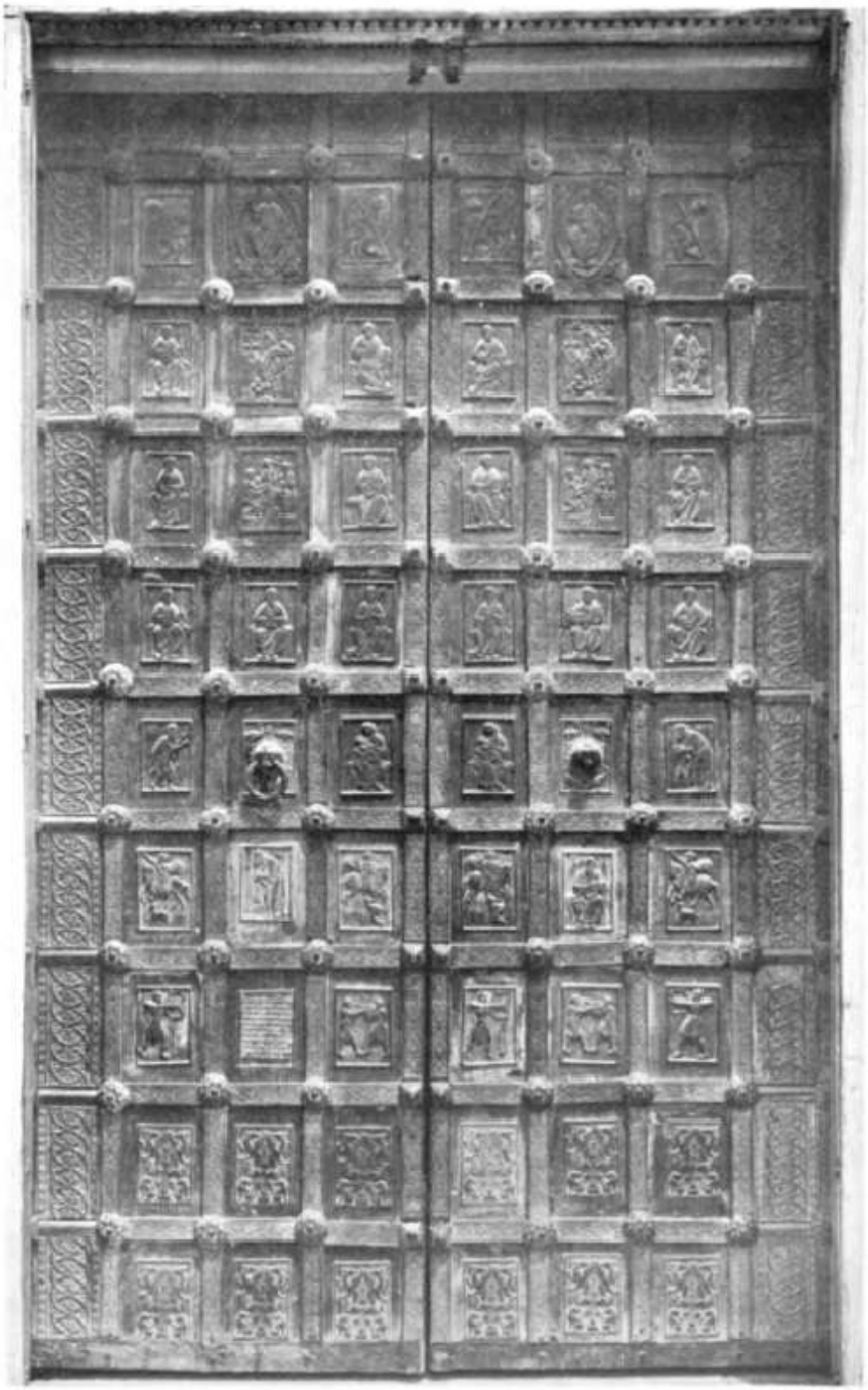

Photo N.P.G.

The Bronze Gate of the Cathedral of Ravello.

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away Frederick's wrath, and for a brief space the Church and the Empire were once more at peace.

Frederick's second coming into Italy, July 1158.

But if Hadrian's letter furnished Frederick with a feigned pretext for a brief quarrel, the conduct of the latter in his second descent upon Italy provoked a deadly duel between himself and the Pope. His first Italian expedition had revealed to Barbarossa that the imperial authority in Italy, though readily enough acknowledged in theory, was in practice largely despised. He neither forgot nor forgave the treatment he had received, especially on his return from Rome, nor did the manner in which Milan had been able to flout his authority fade from his mind. It did not therefore require appeals for help from the cities oppressed by Milan and its allies[1] to move him to undertake another Italian expedition to crush the proud cities that disputed his authority.[2] Accordingly, from all parts of the empire he collected a great army which in July 1158 poured into Italy through all the passes of the Alps.[3] Once in the plains of Lombardy, Frederick was joined by all the enemies of Milan, which soon saw its few loyal supporters overwhelmed, and the imperial army round its own walls. After a close siege Milan had to submit (September 8), though among the favourable terms it secured was one by which the imperial army was not to enter the city. On the other hand, the Milanese had to submit the names of their chief magistrates or consuls for

[1] The *Gesta di Fed.*, v. 1321 ff., tells us that word reached Frederick that the people of Milan

> "Menibus elatum Terdone vi reparatis
> Ledere vicinos solito magis."

[2] Hence he proclaimed: "Non ad prelium nos accendit libido dominandi, sed feritas rebellandi. . . . Non inferimus, sed depellimus injuriam." Rahewin, iii. 29, al. 27.

[3] "Fredericus . . . secundo in Italiam, plenius eam subjugaturus, movit exercitum." Sigebert, *Chron.*, *auct. Affligmense*, an. 1157.

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the emperor's approval, and to give up all the regalian rights.[1]

All Lombardy seemed now awed into submission, and Frederick, dismissing the greater part of his forces, rebuilt the town of Lodi, which had been destroyed by the Milanese, and marched to the plains of Roncaglia,[2] whither he had ordered all the states and nobles of Italy (Lombardy) to send envoys.

The diet of Roncaglia, Nov. 1158.

At the great assembly, which opened about the middle of November, Frederick endeavoured to complete by law what he had begun by arms. With a view to establishing his authority on a firm legal basis, he gathered round him a number of jurists, especially from Bologna, who were called upon to lay down what were the rights included under the term *regalia*. Imbued with the revived study of the legislation of Justinian,[3] a number of these lawyers, assisted by consuls of fourteen Italian cities, assigned to the emperor rights which perhaps were not so excessive in themselves,[4] as directly contrary to those which the

[1] The full treaty is given by Rahewin, ii. 47, al. 41. The royal rights (regalia) are therein set down as "monetam (the right of coining money), theoloneum (tolls), pedaticum (also a kind of toll), portus (harbours, harbour dues), comitatus (taxes), and any such similar rights which there may be."

[2] "Haud procul hinc (Lodi) situs est, Ligures quem nomine dicunt
Roncaliam, campus segetum fecundus et herbe,
Rex ubi Romanus, Ligurum cum visitat urbes,
Colloquium celebrare solet, castrisque locatis,
Jura dare in populos et eorum solvere causas."
Gesta di Fed., v. 2597 ff.

[3] With the legislation which rested on the principle that the emperor's will was law: "Quod Principi placuit, legis habet vigorem." *Inst. Justin.*, lib. i. c. ii. § 6.

[4] They "were only the most ordinary prerogatives of government, and were, if anything, inferior to those possessed by the English kings and by the kings of France within the royal domain." Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 110.

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Lombard cities had long possessed; and, what was worse, they based the emperor's claim to those rights on the most extravagant assertions of the imperial prerogatives. Even the archbishop of Milan, following the teaching of Irnerius,[1] declared that "all the people's rights in law-making had been made over to him, and that his will was law,"[2] and some doctors went so far as to declare that "the emperor was really the lord of all property."[3]

According to Rahewin the *regalia* or crown rights, which "had for a long time been lost to the Empire because they had been usurped and the kings had neglected to recover them," and which were assigned to Frederick by the diet, included "the right to appoint dukes, marquises, counts, and consuls (in the cities), to coin money, to levy tolls, to collect the *fodrum* (provisions for the support of the imperial forces on the march), customs and harbour dues . . . to control mills, fish-ponds, bridges and all the water-ways, and to demand an annual tax not only from the land but also from each person."[4]

In addition to these financial measures, Frederick, in the interest of law and order, forbade private wars, and, in the interest of strong government, proposed to place in each city *Podestàs* (Potestates in Latin) or magistrates exercising "both judicial and executive functions" in his name. Finally, he issued certain feudal regulations, and then

[1] *Cf.* Carlyle, *Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, ii. p. 60. *Cf.* pp. 67, 73 for other preposterous opinions of *certain* jurists regarding the emperor's rights.

[2] Rahewin, iv. 5, al. 4.

[3] Carlyle, *l.c.*, p. 73.

[4] *Gesta*, iv. 7. The actual definition of *regalia* given by the diet has been preserved (ap. *M. G. LL.*, ii. p. 111 ff., and Doeberl, iv. n. 37, ap. 125) and gives rather more rights to the emperor. *Cf.* also Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frid.*, n. 18, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 316, and O. Morena, *Hist.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1015 ff. Thatcher and M'Neal, *Source-book*, p. 189, give a translation of the definition.

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broke up the diet, which proved to be the Empire's "most decisive but also its last triumph."[1]

Trouble begins between Frederick and the cities.

After the assembly had been dismissed, Frederick took up his winter quarters at Alba on the Tanaro in south Lombardy, whilst his agents without loss of time proceeded to institute the Podestàs and to collect the taxes.[2] But the emperor soon found that it was one thing to order the payment of taxes, and another thing to collect them; one thing to say that Podestàs were to be instituted, and another thing to enforce their appointment; one thing to proclaim universal peace, and another to compel its observation. Many of the wealthy and democratic cities began to get very restive when they saw their revenues diverted into the imperial exchequer and their popular institutions superseded,[3] although, in theory, none of them made any difficulty in accepting the imperial claims. Besides, their rivalries were fatal to peace. Disputes of all kinds clamoured for Frederick's settlement. Unfortunately for himself and for the general peace, he did not hold the scales fairly. He favoured those who had supported him, and in the troubles which ensued "the balance of wrong-doing is on the whole on the side of the emperor."[4]

Milan in rebellion, 1159.

Many cities refused to receive his Podestàs, and the state of affairs became suddenly critical when Milan

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 555.

[2] "Fiscus abhinc properat tollere jura sua." Godfrey of V., *Gesta Frid.*, n. 18. "Nuncios pro colligendo fodro per totam Tusciam et Maritima, atque Campaniam direxit." Rahewin, iv. 13, al. 10.

[3] "Contra novas institutiones imperatoris murmurare cœperunt Lombardi." Burchardi et Cuonradi *Urspergensium Chron.*, p. 30, ed. Pertz, 1874. Burchard of Biberach died provost of Ursperg in 1226. His chronicle serves as a continuation of that of Ekkehard of Aura. Seemingly in 1226 his pen was taken up by Conrad of Lichtenau († 1240), who at the end of 1229 put off further writing to a year that never came.

[4] Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 113.

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decided that it did not become it "to obey the haughty Teutons."[1] After it had had to suffer various grievances, some real and some no doubt imaginary, it broke out into open rebellion in the beginning of the year 1159. In April it was once again under the ban of the Empire, and soon beheld Frederick ravaging its territories. For some time this was all he was able to do, as the greater part of his feudal forces had returned to Germany, and until their return he dare not attack Milan itself.

Strained relations between Frederick and Hadrian. i. The see of Ravenna.

Meanwhile, Frederick was making another enemy besides the communes of Lombardy; he was driving Pope Hadrian to throw in his lot with the rebel cities of north Italy. Death unfortunately was busy about this time in removing from the emperor's side men who, while thoroughly loyal to him, were also devoted sons of the Church, and were able to exercise some restraining influence over him when the Holy See was the object of his attack. The great Abbot Wibald had died in July 1158, and before the year closed Frederick's uncle, the historian, Bishop Otto of Frising, had breathed his last while reaffirming his profession of the Catholic faith according to the rule of the holy Roman Church.[2] On August 12, 1158, had also died Anselm, archbishop of Ravenna, and, as he signed himself, "exarch of the same city (*civitas*)," whose strenuous assertion at Constantinople of the prerogatives of the Pope we had occasion to mention above. Anxious to have a useful partisan in such an important see as that of Ravenna, Frederick asked the Pope to allow Guido, the son of the

[1] "Mediolanus . . . .
Federa, que duro pepigit cum rege coactus,
Deserit, indignum reputans servire superbis
Teutonicis seva ditione prementibus ipsum."
Gesta di Fed., v. 2698 ff.

[2] "Seque catholicæ fidei assertorem juxta S. Romanæ, immo et universalis æcclesiæ regulam professus est." Rahewin, iv. 14, al. 11.

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count of Biandrate, to occupy it, as he had been duly elected by the whole Church of Ravenna. The emperor was anxious for Guido, as the young man's father, though acting with him, had great influence with the Lombard cities. But, even when asking for a favour, he could not avoid insinuating that he was giving a command; and this he did by violating the diplomatic etiquette of the day, and putting his own name before that of the Pope in the address of his letter.[1] Taking no notice of this at the time, Hadrian, who wished to retain Guido in his service for the very same reasons that Frederick wanted to have the young man in his, replied that he had shown favour to Guido at the emperor's particular request, and that, because the young man's high qualities, as well as those of his noble and powerful parents would be of great value to the Roman Church, he had assigned a church to him, though he was not yet a deacon. Hence, he concluded, it would doubtless be to the advantage both of the emperor and of the young man himself if he were retained for advancement in the Roman Church.[2]

ii. A quarrel between Brescia and Bergamo.

Rahewin pretends that for this refusal the emperor ordered his notaries, when writing to Hadrian in his name, to place that of the Pope after his, and to address him in the second person singular instead of plural.[3] But, as

[1] Ep., ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1642. "Fridericus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, et semper Augustus, Adriano R. E. venerabili pontifici." Hence Cardinal Henry of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, writing to Eberhard, bishop of Bamberg, calls his attention to this as a sign that the emperor was departing from those arrangements concerning peace between the Church and himself which he made with the cardinal both in Germany and recently (*altera die*) again in Italy. He speaks of the emperor's letters "quæ videlicet nec stilum nec antiquam consuetudinem imperialium litterarum obtinebant." Ap. Rahewin, iv. 22, al. 19.

[2] Ep. 197. "Tam pretiosum pignus, juxta petitionem excellentiæ tuæ, non potuimus removere." In the end, however, Frederick got his way, and Guido died (1169) archbishop of Ravenna.

[3] IV. 21, al. 18.

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we have just seen, he had already put his name before the Pope's in his first letter to him on the subject of Guido.

It was really another cause of discontent with the Pope which urged Frederick to give this undignified instruction to his chancellary. And, according to Eberhard,[1] bishop of Bamberg, writing to Cardinal Henry, but professing not to wish to try to palliate what was incapable of being excused,[2] this cause was a letter written by the Pope to the emperor, which was delivered in an insolent manner by a fellow in rags (*pannosus*), who disappeared immediately after presenting it. In addition to this, the letter itself, which concerned a dispute between the cities of Brescia and Bergamo, "appeared to be harsh in tone, and to threaten the emperor with an interdict if he ventured himself to pass any decision on the case."[3]

Unfortunately, the letter alluded to by the bishop is no longer extant, so that there is no means of judging what right the Pope may have had to write to the emperor in the style noted by Eberhard; but there is evidently some exaggeration with regard to the bearer of the missive. We know too much of the prudent and diplomatic character of Hadrian to believe that he would have prejudiced any case by an insolent delivery of a letter. It is possible that the bearer of the document was a monk, who from fear or from ignorance of what was expected of a papal messenger, may have been unwilling to remain in the imperial residence

[1] He was distinguished for his learning, his virtue, and his favour with the emperor. *Ib.*, iv. 32, al. 29.

[2] "Hæc autem scribo vobis, non ut quæram palliare quæ pallianda non sunt, sed ut vos et alii prudentes . . . facilius morbo subveniatis. . . . More solito scribantur litteræ, adjuvante Domino." Ap. Rahewin, iv. 22, al. 19.

[3] "Quæ (the letter) videbantur duriores et quasi interdicti vim in se continentes, ne d. imperator causæ illius judicium sibi assumeret." *Ib.*

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after he had surrendered the letter with which he had been entrusted.

However this may be, the bishop, after expressing his detestation of those who are sowing discord between the Empire and the priesthood (*regnum et sacerdotium*), implores the cardinal to send worthy messengers who shall be bearers of peace. "You know the character of the emperor," he added in conclusion; "he loves those who love him, and is distant to those who are distant to him, for he has not yet quite learned to love even his enemies."[1] At the same time he wrote to the Pope to express his fear lest serious trouble might arise out of the existing wordy warfare. "The emperor your son is, as you know, our lord (*dominus*), but you, like Christ, are our teacher and lord (*magister et dominus*). It is not for any of us to ask why you say this or do that."[2] Still, he ventures to suggest to the Pope that it is better to put out a fire at once than to stand discussing from what source it is coming. Hence he implores the Pope to write a plain, straightforward letter to the emperor recalling him to himself in a fatherly manner, and he assures him that he will find the emperor ready to show him due reverence.

iii. Frederick and the States of the Church.

Besides this interference of the Pope in the quarrel between Brescia and Bergamo, Rahewin insinuates that Hadrian had been detected urging Milan and other cities to further rebellion.[3] But he only mentions this as a report, and the letters he proceeds to quote in connection with the rumour, viz., those which have just been discussed,

[1] Rahewin, *ib.*

[2] *Ib.*, iv. 22, al. 20. "Ipse filius vester, sicut nostis, dominus noster est, vos autem, quomodo Christus, magister et dominus. Nemo nostrum audet dicere hinc vel inde, cur hoc facitis aut dicitis."

[3] *Ib.*, iv. 21, al. 18. "Ut quædam litteræ deprehensæ *dicerentur* a sede apostolica directæ, quæ Mediolanenses et quasdam alias civitates rursus ad defectionem hortarentur."

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make no reference to such a charge against the Pope. However, if hitherto Hadrian had had no connection with the opposition offered to Frederick by some of the Lombard cities, the latter's high-handed action with regard to the crown-rights (*regalia*) assigned to him by the deputies at Roncaglia, was soon to force the Pope to make common cause with the cities which were in revolt.

In his exaction of the *regalia* Frederick appears to have acted as though he were the immediate lord of the States of the Church, or at least of the lands of the Countess Matilda. He seems to have lost sight of the truth that he was the Protector and not the direct ruler of the Patrimony of St. Peter; and to such an extent did he lose sight of it, that one historian plainly says that, "in violation of law and reason, he seized certain possessions of Blessed Peter."[1]

The diet of Bologna, 1159.

To protest against Frederick's action there appeared before the assembly, which in April 1159 placed Milan under the ban of the Empire, four cardinals, viz., the ambitious Octavian, Henry, William, cardinal-deacon, formerly archdeacon of Pavia, and Guido of Crema. At any rate, such is the assertion of our chief authority Rahewin. Unfortunately, however, the worthy canon is a very much inferior historian to his patron and precursor, Bishop Otto; and if he succeeds in making it plain that he has no eyes for the faults of Barbarossa, he does not succeed in stating facts with clearness. In the present instance he states that four legates were sent by the Pope,[2]

[1] *Gesta abbat. Trud., contin.*, ii. n. 7, an. 1159, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 347, or *P. L.*, t. 173. Frederick, says this author, "quasdam b. Petri possessiones sine judicio et ratione occupasse." *Cf.* ep. of Alexander III. (April 1, 1160) to Arnulf of Lisieux: "Patrimonium b. Petri violenter invasit"; and the claims of Hadrian against the emperor.

[2] IV. 34.

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and then gives us a number of undated letters which he says refer to this legation, and which not only speak of but two legates (Octavian and William), but do not all appear to be connected with one set of negotiations.

Hadrian's claims.

The first letter which he cites for our enlightenment is one from Eberhard, bishop of Bamberg, to his namesake the archbishop of Salzburg. Most unfortunately, he does not quote any letter of Hadrian in connection with these negotiations, nor, apparently, have any been preserved elsewhere, so that we cannot hear the Pope speaking in his own behalf.

The bishop, in the beginning of his letter, professed himself very much troubled by the state of affairs; for he feared, he said, an immediate rupture between the Empire and the Papacy.[1] He then proceeded to set forth the claims put forward by Hadrian, which he regarded as a fruitful source of future trouble.

Unhappily, we do not know what those claims were in the Pope's own words. Though Eberhard, when enumerating them, dubbed them "excessive (*durissima*)," they make it plain that Frederick had been acting as the immediate ruler of the papal territories. Hadrian, for instance, claimed that the emperor should not send envoys to Rome without his knowledge, as the government of Rome (*omnis magistratus inibi*) and its *regalia* belonged to him. Purveyance (*fodrum*) was not to be demanded from the papal states (*de dominicalibus apostolici*) except on the occasion of the imperial coronation, and the bishops of Italy were to take to the emperor not the more solemn oath of homage or vassalage, but only that of fealty or allegiance. Finally, there must be restored to the Roman Church Tivoli, Ferrara, Massa (in Tuscany?), Ficorolii

[1] "Tempora periculosa instare videntur, et prope est, ut inter regnum et sacerdotium moveatur discordia." *Ib.*

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(Fiscaglia),[1] all the country of the Countess Matilda, all the territory from Acquapendente (the town of the *dripping waters*, in the north of the modern province of Latium) to Rome, the duchy of Spoleto, and the islands of Sardinia and Corsica.

In the discussion which ensued on these claims, Frederick declared that, since he was Roman emperor by the will of God (*divina ordinatione*), he would be but a shadow of a prince, and bear an empty name, if jurisdiction over the city of Rome were taken from him.[2]

According to the letter we are following, Frederick at last offered to submit all these claims to arbitration if the cardinals would do the same.[3] They, however, said that they had not been empowered to bind the Pope, and then in turn listened to the complaints of the emperor. They were that the Pope had not observed the treaty of Constance (1153), as he had made peace with the Romans and the Normans without the imperial assent;[4] that cardinals were sent through the Empire (*per regnum*) without the emperor's consent; that the Pope heard unjust appeals and many similar things.

When these points had been submitted to the legates, they made haste to submit them to the Pope, and to ask him to send fresh cardinals to arrange matters. But to this, convinced as he doubtless was of the emperor's

[1] Or is it "Massæ Ficorolii," Massa Fiscaglia, some fifteen to twenty miles due east of Ferrara? According to Innocent III., the whole duchy of Tuscany (*ducatus Tusciæ*) was subject to the suzerainty of the Roman Church—"ad jus et dominium Ecclesiæ Rom. pertineat." *Epp. Reg.*, i. 15.

[2] Rahewin, iv. 35.

[3] *Cf.* Rahewin himself, iv. 36.

[4] *Supra*, p. 266 ff. Apart from the fact that the emperor had made no efforts in the Pope's behalf against either the Romans or the king of Sicily, it must be borne in mind that Eugenius did not bind himself not to make peace with the Romans or Normans without the emperor's consent.

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intention to persevere in the policy he had begun, Hadrian refused to comply.[1]

The Senate strives to gain the emperor's support.

Meanwhile, hoping to make capital out of the discord between Hadrian and Frederick, the Romans sent to the latter ambassadors who this time were favourably received. However, at the request of the cardinals, the emperor decided to send envoys to Rome in order, if possible, to make peace with the Pope; but, if not with the Pope, then with the Senate and the Romans.[2]

Somewhat later, whilst the emperor was laying siege to Crema, an ally of the Milanese, the Romans, by way of improving the occasion, sent a second embassy to him. Though they apologised for their outbreak at the time of the emperor's coronation, attributing it to a few wicked persons, they did not fail to repeat that they were the source of Frederick's imperial power. With a view to being able to bring greater pressure on the Pope, Frederick listened graciously to the boastful Romans, gave them great presents, and sent back in their company Otho of Wittlesbach and other envoys. The instructions they had received were to come to terms with the Romans regarding their Senate, and the reception of an (imperial)

[1] Rahewin, iv. 34. *Cf. ib.*, 36, al. 31, *init.*

[2] *Ib.*, iv. 34. A little later (iv. 36, al. 31) Rahewin cites a letter of the emperor to Eberhard of Salzburg as referring to this same matter. In it Frederick speaks of an embassy of *two* cardinals, though he does not say that they came to prefer complaints, but declares that they came to state that the Pope wished for the confirmation of the concordat of Constance (1153), agreed to between Eugenius and Frederick himself. This, the emperor continues, we refused to grant, on the ground that Hadrian had broken it by making peace with Sicily without our consent. It is possible that this embassy may have come somewhat later than the first embassy, also of two cardinals. We should thus have the four cardinal ambassadors spoken of by Rahewin. In other respects, this letter of the emperor confirms what has been set forth in the text, except that it adds that the Roman envoys were very indignant "at the new claims" put forth by the Pope

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prefect, and, if possible, to make peace with the Pope. Well received by the Senate and people, the envoys at once opened negotiations with Hadrian, who had retired to Anagni in June, and, whilst the Romans were busy talking about the ancient glories of Rome, conducted themselves like kings, and contrived to make themselves the centre of affairs.[1]

Alliance between the Pope and certain Lombard cities, 1159.

Hitherto, though he had made it sufficiently evident to Frederick that he would not allow him to ride rough-shod over his rights, Hadrian had confined himself to efforts to make peace between the rival Lombard cities[2] and to verbal expostulation with the emperor. Convinced, however, at length that, by his arbitrary dealings with the cities which opposed him, by his utter disregard of papal rights over the inheritance of Matilda, and by his alliance with the rebellious Romans, Barbarossa's absolutism would stop at nothing, Hadrian decided to join his spiritual sword to the insurgent arms of north Italy. Whilst Frederick was still trying to reduce heroic Crema, Milan made an alliance with Brescia and Piacenza, and sent ambassadors to Hadrian to beg him to cement their league by his adhesion (*c.* August 1159). The allies undertook not to come to any agreement with the emperor without

[1] Rahewin, iv. 49, al. 41. "Molientibus illis more suo antiquum Romanæ urbis fastum, regales se in nullo passi sunt inferiores inveniri, immo et ad se sepius veniri, quam ut illis occurrerent, obtinuerunt (the imperial envoys)." No notice has been taken of the letter which, according to the *Aquicinctina continuatio* of Sigebert's chronicle, Hadrian is said to have sent to Frederick from *Præneste* on June 24, nor of the intemperate reply which the emperor is said to have returned to it. But, as will have been noticed in connection with Frederick's second marriage, the authority of the *Continuatio* is not great; and the documents are now allowed to be mere *dictamina*, *i.e.*, scholastic exercises. *Cf.* Jaffé, †10575 (7121).

[2] Besides what has already been said, *cf.* the exertions of two of Hadrian's legates to make peace between Milan and Cremona in 1157, as described by Otto Morena, p. 999, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.

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the consent of Hadrian or his successors, whilst on his side, though he did not confirm his promise on oath, Hadrian agreed to excommunicate Frederick within forty days.[1]

It appears also that William of Sicily was a partner to the league against Frederick, and that, with the consent

[1] Our authority for this alliance is the contemporary Milanese narrative, now known as the *Libellus tristicie*, but formerly ascribed to Sire Raoul, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1183. The *Chronicon de rebus in Italia gestis* speaks to the same effect, but its words are *verbatim* those of the *Libellus*. Piacenza produced two chronicles in the thirteenth century which were first edited by Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1856) under the names of *Chronicon Placentinum* (1012–1235), and *Chron. de rebus in Italia gestis*. They were re-edited by Pertz, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xviii., as *Annales Placentini Guelfi*, and *A. P. Gibellini* respectively, because the first was written in the interests of the party (the ecclesiastical) afterwards called that of the Guelfs, and the second in those of the imperial (later called Ghibelline) party. The preface of Holder-Egger's most recent edition of the former (ap. *SS. rer. Ger. in usum schol.*, Hanover and Leipzig, 1901) shows that it was really the work of the notary John Codagnellus (or Caput agni, Lambshead, Co—for *capo* in the Lombard dialect—d'agnello), who died probably not long after 1235. His annals, which are wholly original after the year 1189, are of the first importance; and though he was an ardent partisan, Holder-Egger acquits him of ever "knowingly and wittingly" deviating from the truth, except under the year 1226, when he gives the story of the excommunication of Frederick II. At the same time his editor warns us to be on our guard against what he wrote "when blinded by party zeal" (p. xiv).

The author of the Ghibelline Annals of P. (1154–1284) is thought by some to have been Mutius of Monza, captain of the people of Piacenza in 1294. This writer is regarded as less biased than the other Italian annalists of the period.

The intention of Hadrian to excommunicate the emperor is also affirmed by the *Chron. regia Coloniensis*, sub an. 1157: "Papa, audito imperatoris adventu . . . Roma discedens (August 1) . . . consilium habuerit ut d. imperatorem excommunicaret." *Cf.* also B. and C. *Ursperg. Chron.*, pp. 36, 38 (Burchard quotes a Cremonese author who professed to have his information from men in the league against Frederick); Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frid.*, c. 12, p. 314; and Gerhoh of Reich., *De investig. Antichristi*, i. 56, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. p. 367; *cf.* p. 371.

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of all the cardinals except four,[1] Hadrian sent him "the banner of Blessed Peter" by the hands of his chancellor, Cardinal Roland.[2] That William should thus join with the Pope against Frederick was to have been expected, considering that, since the Treaty of Benevento (1156), Hadrian had been engaged in loyally supporting the Sicilian king against the Greeks. Manuel Comnenus, not content to see Byzantine influence banished from Italy, but determined if possible to regain a footing in the peninsula, directed several expeditions against its Adriatic coast. Partly by diplomatic understandings with Frederick and partly by gold and force, he obtained possession of various cities both in localities dependent upon the Empire and in districts belonging to William. Hadrian at first endeavoured to make peace between Manuel and William, and the Greek historian Nicetas Choniates[3] tells of an embassy of the Pope "of old Rome" appearing in Constantinople to bring this about (1157). Though the ambassadors were favourably received, fighting went on, and we next find Hadrian endeavouring by prohibition and anathema to stop the progress of the Greeks, who were separated from the Church, and exhorting his people to help the Normans who were its members.[4]

Death of Hadrian, 1159.

The Lombard envoys found Hadrian at Anagni, a town he was not destined to leave. He was taken suddenly ill

[1] Imarus of Tusculum, Octavian, Guido of Cremona, and John of St. Martin.

[2] Sigebert, *Chron. contin. Aquicinct.*, an. 1158; and *Ursperg. Chron.*, p. 36 (Burchard pretends that "an immense sum of money was given to Hadrian to excommunicate the emperor").

[3] This senator wrote his history of the Comneni about 1204. *Chron.*, ii. 8.

[4] John Cinnamus, whose history was followed by Nicetas, was secretary to Manuel. *Hist.*, iv. 14. On Manuel's spasmodic attacks on Italy, see Chalandon, *Hist. de la dominat. Normande en Italie*, vol. ii. ch. 8.

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with quinsy, and died before the expiration of the forty days in the evening of the feast of St. Giles (September 1, 1159).[1]

An election compact among the cardinals?

According to the emperor and other Teutonic authorities who favoured the party of the antipope Victor IV.,[2] Roland and the other cardinals who supported Milan agreed, before the death of Hadrian, to elect as his successor only one who would be true to his policy. As will be set forth more at length when the troubled election of Alexander III. is treated of, it does indeed seem not unlikely that there was at least an understanding among many of the cardinals that Octavian should not be elected. But whether there was an election compact or not, there was certainly some difficulty about the choice of a burial-place for Hadrian.

The body of Hadrian is removed to Rome, and buried in St. Peter's.

It would appear that, with a view to having the election of his successor held at Anagni, and not at Rome where the power of the emperor's envoys was supreme, many of the cardinals wished to have the body of the late Pope buried at Anagni. But when the news of the death of Hadrian reached Rome, a very great number of people,

[1] "Qua jacet astricta nullo medicamine victa,
Colla tument, moritur, werra pro pace relicta."
Godfrey of Viterbo, *l.c.*

Cf. a letter of Eberhard of Bamberg (Hadrian "qui anginæ dolore defecisse dicitur"), ap. Watterich, ii. 454; William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xviii. 26, "morbo squinanciæ defuncto." The imperialist Burchard (*Ursperg. Chron.*, p. 30), writing somewhat *later*, states as the cause of Hadrian's death an absurd *report* ("*ut dicitur* musca os ejus intravit," etc.) that he was choked by a fly. No strictly contemporary author mentions the fly, and many (ap. Jaffé, sub 10583) speak of his death, giving its date quite correctly.

[2] Ep. Frid. to the archbishop of Salzburg and others (February 14, 1160, ap. Rahewin, iv. 79, al. 69): "Rolandus . . . et quidam cardinales . . . juramenti vinculo invicem sese constrixerunt, ut defuncto papa, nullus alius ei substitueretur, nisi qui in eadem conspiratione cum eis convenissent." *Cf.* the manifesto of Victor's cardinals, ap. *ib.*, 62, al. 52; *Usperg. Chron.*, p. 38; *Chron. reg. Colon.*, sub an. 1157; *Gesta abb. Trid., cont.*, ii. n. 7, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 347.

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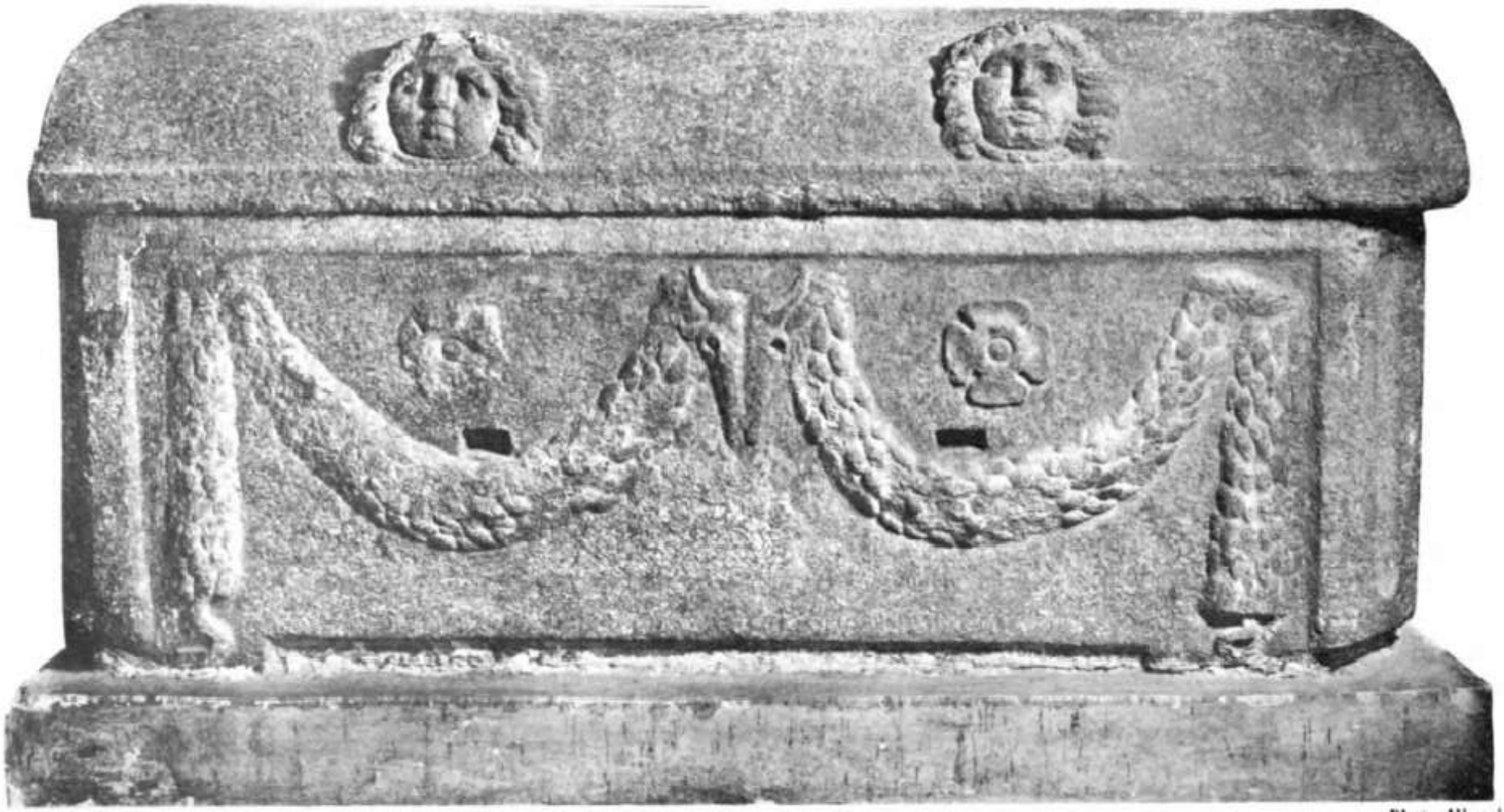

Photo Alinari

A Third Century Sarcophagus which was used as the Tomb of Hadrian IV.,
and which is now in the Crypt of St. Peter's.

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including the senators, at once set out for Anagni. By their influence all opposition was beaten down, the cardinals agreed to return to the city, and to hold the election in the usual way, and the body of the deceased pontiff was solemnly conveyed to Rome.[1] After it had been laid in an ancient sarcophagus of red Egyptian granite on which were carved two masks, two flowers, and a garland supported in the centre by the skull of an ox,[2] it was placed near the tomb of Eugenius III. in the oratory of our Lady in St. Peter's.[3] During his brief pontificate Hadrian had won at least the respect of everyone, of friend and of foe alike, and all our authorities agree in telling of the honourable funeral that was accorded him (September 4). "Nearly all the cardinals (*fratres*)" assisted at it, as did also the imperial ambassadors.[4]

Praises of Hadrian.

The mingled feelings of respect and love with which the fearless Englishman was regarded by the Romans were shared in different degrees by the rest of Christendom,

[1] On Hadrian's death "convenit illico maxima multitudo, cum quibus et senatores affuerunt, quorum consilio corpus Romam delatum est." Ep. of the canons of St. Peter's to Frederick, ap. Rahewin, iv. 76 (66). *Cf.* the encyclical of Victor's cardinals, *ib.*, c. 62 (52), and a letter of Eberhard of Bamberg, ap. Watterich, ii. 454. "A quibusdam familiaribus d. imperatoris annuntiatum est quod ab his, qui senatores dicuntur, d. Papæ sepultura non conceditur, quoadusque cardinales in urbe conveniant, et exequiis rite celebratis in electione ordine canonico procedant." More will be said about the agreement among the cardinals when the election of Alexander III. is narrated.

[2] Dufresne, *Les cryptes vaticanes*, p. 81. The sole inscription on the tomb is "Hadrianus Papa IIII." Tarleton, p. 246, somewhat fancifully it is to be feared, supposes the animal's skull to be that of a deer, "the sign of St. Albans," and the flowers to be roses "to represent England." The garland with the ox head is quite a common classical form of ornamentation. See, *e.g.*, plates 26 and 96 in vol. ii. of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, London, 1904.

[3] Boso, and Peter Mallius, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 397 n.

[4] Ep. of Alex. III. to the archbishop of Genoa (September 26, 1159). Hadrian "præsentibus fere omnibus fratribus, satis honorifice tumulato." *Cf.* Rahewin, iv. 52 (43).

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and have been so shared ever since. His death, writes his intimate friend, John of Salisbury, "has perturbed all the peoples and nations of the Christian faith, but it has stirred our England which gave him birth with grief still more bitter, and has watered our country with more abundant tears. His death was a cause of sorrow to all good men, but to none more than to me."[1]

This touching testimony borne to the worth of Hadrian by his bosom friend has been echoed by his fellow-countrymen to this day, and even by those whose religious beliefs are not the same as his. "His life," writes Mr. Tarleton, "may be placed with the highest of those known to us for strength, honesty, and purity of motive. It is by studying the lives of men like him that we feel the influence which they leave behind them to succeeding generations. They teach us in grand simple language not to despair if the way seems hard and weary, but to step boldly out on our journey, remembering that lofty motive and high ideal will lead us on, and bring their reward."[2]

The eulogies which have been passed on Hadrian by his fellow-countrymen are repeated by the stranger. Noting that he "was shrewd, practical, and unyielding as Anglo-Saxons are wont to be," the German Gregorovius, though crediting him with arrogance, tells us that "his natural endowments were increased by the greatness to which his own merits had raised him, by knowledge of the world, and by a praiseworthy strength of character."[3]

Present resting-place of Hadrian's tomb.

During the course of the demolition of old St. Peter's in 1607, the archæologist Grimaldi very fortunately took

[1] *Metalogicus*, iv. 42.

[2] P. 256 f. *Cf.* Mackie, p. 122 ff. He closes his work thus: "It was at the feet of Alexander III. (one trained in Hadrian's school) that Frederick Barbarossa fell, but the papal triumph . . . was due in no small measure to the efforts of Adrian IV."

[3] *Rome*, iv. pt. ii., p. 560.

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notes of the opening and subsequent fate of the more important tombs which had accumulated there in the course of over a thousand years. When the sarcophagus of Hadrian was opened, his body was found entire, and clad in a silk chasuble of a dark colour, and is described as that of "an undersized man, wearing slippers of Turkish make, and a ring with a large emerald."[1] After the closing of the tomb, it was placed in the crypt of the new basilica, where it may still be seen and examined by the aid of the electric light.

Whilst casting a last look at the enduring monument that encloses the remains of the great English Pope, we may recall the still more enduring monument which he has left behind him in the hearts of the Norwegian people, typified to-day by the bust to "The good Bishop Nicholas," which they have set up in their elegant cathedral at Trondhjem.[2]

[1] Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 145. *Cf.* Pagi, *Vitæ RR. PP.*, iii. 40.

[2] So I am informed by Commander Tarleton.

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CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

Henry II. congratulates Hadrian on his accession (?).

WHEN Henry II. became king of England (December 19, 1154), he had the satisfaction of knowing that about two weeks before one of his subjects had mounted the chair of Peter. It may be presumed that he at once sent him a letter of congratulation, possibly by the embassy to which attention has already been drawn;[1] and a document is extant which many have thought to be the letter which he is supposed to have despatched to him. It runs as follows: "A sweet breath of air," wrote the king,[2] "has breathed into our ears, inasmuch as we learn that the news of your elevation has scattered like a refulgent aurora the darkness of the desolation of the Church. The Apostolic See rejoices in having obtained such a consolation of her widowhood. All the churches rejoice at beholding the new light arise, and hope to behold it expand to broad day. But in particular our west rejoices that a new light has arisen to illuminate the earth, and that, by divine favour, the west has restored that sun of Christianity which had set in the east. Wherefore, most holy Father, we, sharing the general joy at your honour . . . will lay open

[1] *Supra*, p. 249 ff.

[2] Ep. 168, inter epp. Petri Blesensis, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207. The letter is there given without the name of either king or Pope. It simply bears the inscription "Tali papæ talis rex," *i.e.*, "King So-and-so to Pope So-and-so." The document is to be found in very many if not in most of the MS. collections of the letters of Peter of Blois (*cf.* Thatcher, *Studies concerning Adrian IV.*, p. 33), and appears to have been merely the exercise of some student in either the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

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to you our desires, confiding as we do with filial devotion in your paternal goodness. . . . Among other desires of our heart, we hope that, as the Almighty . . . has transplanted you from this land of ours into His orchard, you will take especial care to reform . . . all the churches, so that all generations may call the country of your beatitude blessed. This too we thirst for . . . that the spirit of tempests which is wont to rage furiously round the pinnacles of honour, may never wrest from you concern for your own sanctification, lest, by reason of any deficiency in you, the deepest abyss of disgrace should succeed to the highest summit of dignity. And this too we ardently long for, that, as the regulation of the Church universal belongs to you, you will take care to create cardinals who will be a real help to you, and will be full of zeal for souls; and that, in the collation of benefices, you will strive to prevent any unworthy person intruding into the Patrimony of the Crucified." Henry (?) then proceeded to beg the Pope to succour the Holy Land and the empire of Constantinople. In conclusion, he expressed a hope that he would so live and die "that your native land, which congratulates itself on your happy beginning, will find much more glory in the Lord in your happy end.[1] Finally, we request your Paternity . . . that you will be pleased to remember us, our family and kingdom, in your prayers and vows."

Such is the document, without name or date, which has been imagined to have been sent by Henry to Hadrian. But the whole nature of its contents, its references to the appointment of cardinals, to the collation of benefices, and to the reduced state of the Byzantine empire, its sentiments

[1] "Speramus quod . . . subjectas ecclesias illustrare ac inflammare curabitis . . . relicturi talia post decessum vestrum vestigia sanctitatis, quod terra nativitatis vestræ, quæ de felici juncundatur origine, de felici fine poterit felicius in Domino gloriari." *Ib.* Raby's translation has been followed for the most part.

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wholly opposed to those of the dictatorial Angevin, show that, if it was not a mere student's exercise, it was in any case the production of a century later than the twelfth.

Lay interference in elections, etc., condemned.

If Henry did write a congratulatory letter to Hadrian, the answer of the Pope is not forthcoming, though not a few of the documents which proceeded from Hadrian's chancellary have reference to this country. One of the earliest of any particular importance is a strong encyclical addressed to the bishops of Germany and Sicily (?) as well as to those of England.[1] Pointing out to them that it is his duty to see to the needs of the whole Church, he bids them excommunicate those "who without the authority of their bishops do not hesitate to take possession of churches and benefices through the hands of laymen, and those who, to avoid correction, venture to betake themselves to the secular power, and strive to stir up the anger of the great ones of this world against the prelates of the Church." He concludes his trenchant letter by prohibiting under pain of anathema the consecration of any bishop or abbot whose election had not been wholly free and canonically approved.[2]

Hadrian by this time (1156) knew well what kind of men he had to deal with in Henry II. and in Barbarossa,—men who had little respect for established rights either in the Church or in the State; so that he took this early opportunity of showing them that the rights of the Church, at any rate, would be manfully upheld. A man "of heroic

[1] "Omnibus episcopis per Alemanniam, Siciliam (?) et Angliam constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem" (Feb. 5, 1156), ap. Jaffé, 10, 139; and in full, ap. Lowenfeld, no. 226, p. 123.

[2] "Ad hæc adjicientes sub anathematis interminatione statuimus, ne in toto regno benedicatur aliquis in abbatem aut in episcopum consecretur, nisi a fratribus in ecclesia libere et absque denominatione laicæ sit potestatis electus et electio ipsa examinata canonice sit et rationabiliter approbata."

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type"[1] himself, he had no dread of men of the same calibre. He was aware that the treaty of Constance (1153) had been necessitated by Barbarossa's disregard of the rights of the Church in general and of the Concordat of Worms in particular.[2] And the "Battle Abbey" dispute, which began during the year of the issue of the strong encyclical just quoted (1156), showed that Henry could act just as arbitrarily in ecclesiastical affairs as the emperor.

The affair of Battle Abbey.

After the battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror built on its site an abbey, in order that the monks might thank God for his victory, and might pray for the souls of those who had fallen in the fight. Then, as was his wont, assuming an authority in ecclesiastical affairs for which there was absolutely no precedent, he granted it privileges which were not only unheard of before, but which were derogatory to the rights of *the ordinary*, viz., the bishop of Chichester.[3] It is true that he had the consent of Stigand, who was the ordinary at the time;[4] but, as he was assuming powers that belonged to the Pope, it is no wonder that subsequent bishops of Chichester were not prepared to submit to a curtailment of their rights by virtue of royal charters. Securing the support of Eugenius III.,

[1] So is he characterised by the American diplomatist, D. J. Hill, *A History of Diplomacy*, i. 278.

[2] *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. 326 (Fr. ed.).

[3] Not Chester, as is stated in the French ed. of Hefele's *Conc.*, vii. 358. Both Selden and Spelman note that William "took upon himself a fulness of ecclesiastical power which had never been witnessed before." *Cf.* the notes to William's charter as printed in the Anglia-Christiana ed. of the *Chron. Monast. de Bello*, p. 181.

[4] This is set forth by the Conqueror in the beginning of his charter: "Notum sit vobis me concessisse . . . assensu Lanfranci . . . et Stigandi episcopi Cicestrensis . . . ut ecclesia S. Martini de Bello, quam fundavi ex voto ob victoriam quam mihi Deus in eodem loco contulit, libera sit, et quieta in perpetuum ab omni servitute et omnibus quæcumque humana mens excogitare potest." *Cf.* the charter, ap. *ib.*, p. 181.

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Bishop Hilary endeavoured to subject the abbey to his authority.[1] Though he failed at first owing to the opposition of King Stephen, he renewed his attempt with the support of Hadrian, who commanded the abbot "and the Church committed to him" faithfully to obey his bishop (1156).[2] Abbot Walter, however, brought the case before Henry II., who was moved to side with the abbot when the Norman nobles identified his cause with that of the Normans in general. Protect the abbey, they said, "as the monument of your triumph and ours, . . . against all its adversaries, and most especially against the machinations of the English."[3] Thereupon Hilary endeavoured to put the case on its proper level. He pointed out that our Lord Jesus Christ had established two powers in the world, the spiritual and the material, that the bishops were the representatives of the former, and that "the Church of Rome, being invested with the apostleship of the Prince of the apostles, holds such great dignity of power throughout the world, that no bishop, no ecclesiastical person can, without his appointment or permission, be deposed from his office.[4] . . . Neither is it lawful," continued the bishop, "for any layman, no, not even for a king, to confer ecclesiastical liberties and dignities upon churches, nor to take them away when once conferred, unless by permission or confirmation of the said father, as ecclesiastical authority by the Roman law proves." These bold words provoked a storm of angry words from Henry, who accused the bishop of wishing to deprive him of the

[1] *Chron. de Bello*, p. 70. The chronicle has been translated by Lower, *The Chron. of Battel Abbey*, London, 1851.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 77 ff. [3] *Ib.*, p. 89.

[4] "Ecclesia Romana ejusdem apostolorum principis apostolatu insignita, tantam . . . per totius mundi latitudinem optinuit principatus dignitatem ut nullus episcopus . . . absque ejus judicio . . . a sede deponi possit." *Ib.*, p. 91.

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royal prerogatives, and declared that he would himself decide on the merits of the case.[1] Alarmed at this outburst of the passionate monarch, Hilary renounced his claim, and became reconciled with the abbot (1157).[2] St. Thomas Becket, who was present at this trial, thus alludes to it long after in a letter to Pope Alexander, when impressing upon him Henry's tyranny: "What success had the bishop of Chichester against the abbot of Battle when he mentioned the apostolic privileges on which he was relying, and denounced the abbot as excommunicated? He was forthwith compelled to communicate with him in the face of all present, without even the form of absolution, and to receive him to the kiss of peace. For so it pleased the king and the court, which dare not contradict him in anything."[3]

Archbishop Theobald blamed for his subservience, 1156.

This tendency among the English bishops to submit to the illegal actions of an arbitrary monarch had already been stigmatised by Hadrian during the course of the Battle Abbey dispute. He had blamed Archbishop Theobald for "lowering the influence" of the Roman Church, since, "both in his case and in that of the king, appeals to Rome were so buried that no one dared to appeal to the Apostolic See either in his presence or in the king's." Moreover, added the indignant pontiff, "you are so slack in the administration of justice, and are said to be so devoted to the interests of the king and so afraid of him that, if ever we send you instructions to see that a man gets justice, he is never able to obtain it."[4] Hadrian

[1] *Ib.*, p. 103.

[2] *Ib.* This contemporary chronicle tells of various appeals to Pope Hadrian which were lodged by the same Abbot Walter. *Cf.* pp. 113 f. and 116 f.

[3] Ep., ap. *Materials*, vii. p. 242.

[4] Thomas Elmham, *Hist. Mon. S. Aug. Cant.*, p. 411 ff., ed. Hardwick (January 23, 1156).

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brought this severe letter to a conclusion by impressing on Theobald that he would not remain unpunished if he did not amend his conduct.

Privilege for Oxford.

Cases of all kinds from this country were, however, of course laid before Hadrian, and his extant letters show him adjudicating on the action of bishops,[1] calling on them or upon abbots to obey their canonical superiors,[2] striving earnestly to keep the peace between England and France,[3] and bestowing privileges.[4] It is pleasing to note that, by virtue of one of his privileges, he may be said to have helped in the making of Oxford. The historians of that venerable city aver that "the town seems to have grown up under the shadow of a nunnery,[5] which is said to have been founded by St. Frideswyde as far back as the eighth century."[6] Hence when, by a bull addressed to Prior Robert, Hadrian confirmed its possessions to St. Frideswyde's monastery,[7] he undoubtedly contributed to the steady growth of the city which depended upon it.

The famous letter or "bull" *Laudabiliter*, Apr. 1156.

But the other relations of Hadrian with England have comparatively little interest for most people compared to that which centres around the *bull* "Laudabiliter"[8] which

[1] See the case of Nigel, bishop of Ely, and his alienation of the property of the Church, ap. Jaffé, 10265 and 10535 ff. *Cf.* ep. Had. of April 25, 1156, referring to an appeal made to him by Henry himself concerning a bishop, ap. Loewenfeld, *Epp. Pont. Rom.*, p. 124.

[2] *Cf.* ep. 20, calling on the Scotch bishops to obey the archbishop of York, and epp. 79 and 121 to Abbot Silvester bidding him obey Archbishop Theobald. On the appeals to Rome of the abbot of Canterbury against his archbishop, see also John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pont.*, cc. 18 and 42, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xx., and Gervase, *Chron.*, an. 1151, etc.

[3] Ep. 194. Hadrian was an apostle of peace. It was his constant theme.

[4] Ep. 118.

[5] In the eleventh century it became a priory of Augustinian canons.

[6] Lyte, *A Hist. of the University of Oxford*, p. 2, London, 1886.

[7] Jaffé, 10462. [8] So called from the word with which it begins.

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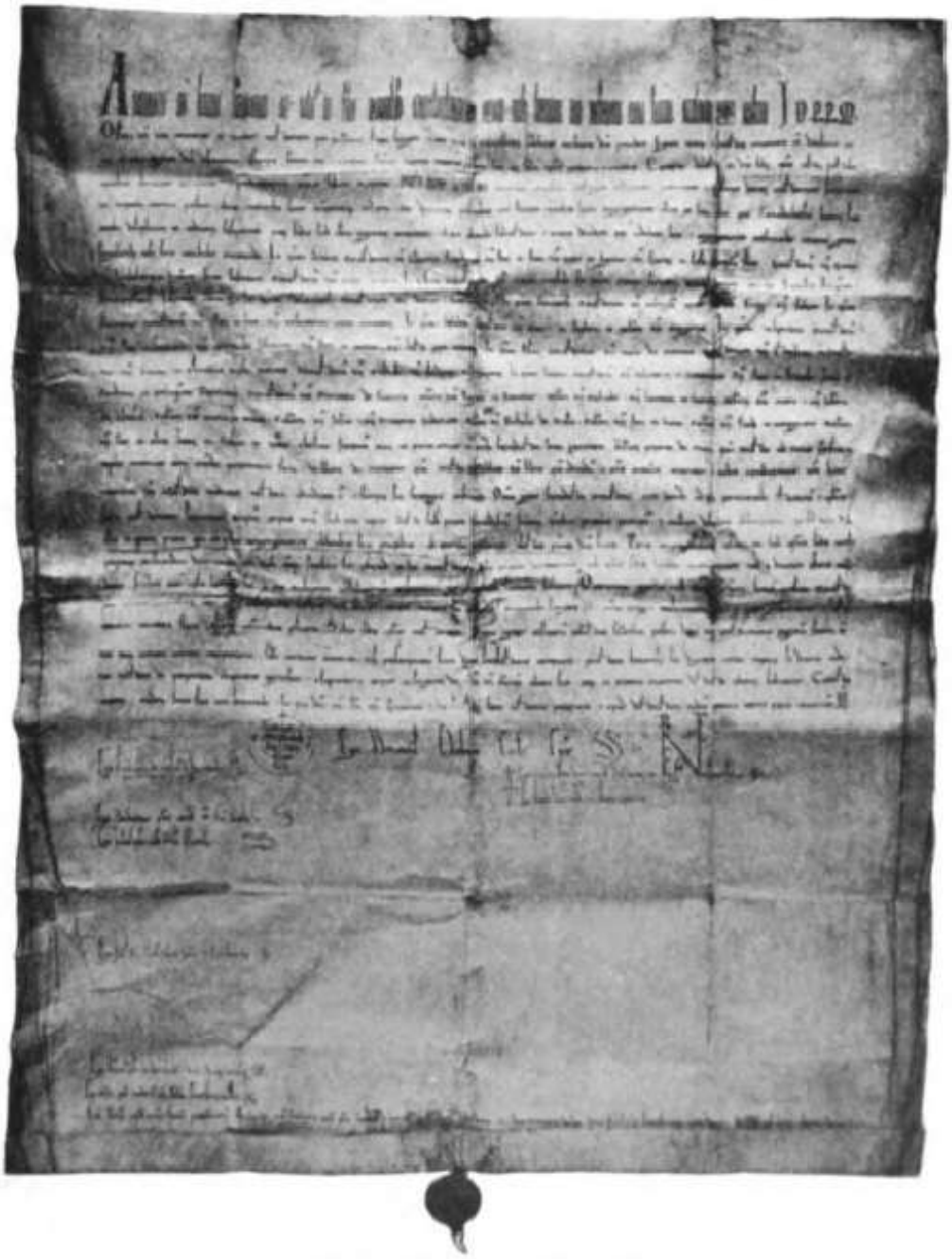

A Bull of Pope Hadrian IV.

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connects the Pope with Henry's invasion of Ireland. A very large amount of literature has grown up around this document, with which it is neither possible nor even desirable to deal; for much of it has rather confused than enlightened the question. Nothing more will be attempted here than to give in the fewest words what appears to be clearly ascertained with regard to Hadrian's connection with Ireland.

Henry proposes to undertake an expedition to Ireland, 1155.

"Though possessed of ample dominions" Henry "was desirous of extending them,"[1] and on Michaelmas day (September 29, 1155) "held a council at Winchester, where he deliberated with his nobility upon the conquest of Ireland, which he proposed to give to his brother William. But because the idea was displeasing to the empress his mother, the expedition was put off for the time."[2] Henry, however, had no thought of abandoning his schemes; but, thinking no doubt that the opposition of his mother would be lessened if the Pope's approval were obtained, he sent an important embassy (*nuntios solemnes*) to Hadrian craving his permission to invade Ireland. He based his petition on his desire "to extirpate the seeds of vice among the Irish people";[3] and hence, rather hypocritically it is

[1] Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, ii. 54.

[2] Rob. de Monte, *Chron.*, 1155, ap. *P. L.*, t. 169, p. 479. Robert died in 1186. (The conquest of Ireland had already been contemplated by William the Conqueror. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, 1087.)

[3] Roger of Wendover, *Chron.* or *Flores Hist.*, 1155, i. p. 11, R. S. *Cf.* Giraldus Cambrensis, *De expugnat. Hibern.*, ii. 5. Roger was the first of the annalists of the monastery of St. Albans, and was most extensively used by Matthew of Paris. His chronicle from the year of our Lord has no independent value before the year 1154, at which date it begins to be printed in the R. S. From that time it is very valuable and important, as it incorporates portions of works now lost, *e.g.*, that of John de Cella, abbot of St. Albans 1195–1214. Some think that Roger himself (†1236), whose chronicle ends with the year 1234, did not commence to write as an independent authority till the year 1231. His sympathies are with the Crown and the Church. In

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to be feared, he expressed a desire to the Pope of doing what he proposed in such a way as not to injure the Christian commonwealth.[1] The "important embassy" was no doubt the one which started on October 9, 1155, under Abbot Robert, of which we have already spoken, and it is scarcely a stretch of the imagination to suppose that the affairs of Ireland were among "the important concerns of the king" entrusted to its management (*quædam arduа negotia regalia*).[2]

Henry's ambassadors, with the aid of John of Salisbury, obtain a feudal grant of Ireland.

The ambassadors found the Pope at Benevento, where it is certain that he resided at least from November 1155 to July 1156, and he himself testifies to the fact that they actually appeared before him, and that they had been sent by the English king.[3] At Benevento the ambassadors also found John of Salisbury, one of the most learned and upright men of his age, and the friend[4] and fellow-countryman of the Pope. Through his friendship with the Pope, John was able to obtain for them the principal favour they had come to seek. This he tells us himself in the last chapter of his philosophical work which he called *Metalogicus*, and which he wrote in 1159. He opens the chapter by saying that grief prevents him from writing more. There is war between the English and the French; his friend Pope Hadrian is dead; and his "father and lord,"[5] Archbishop Theobald, is dangerously ill, and has

addition to the abbot, the embassy was made up of the bishops of Le Mans, Lisieux, and Evreux.

[1] Matthew of Paris, *Hist. Minor*, 1155, i. p. 304, R. S. "Rogavit . . . ut sibi liceret, sine scandalo læsionis fidei Christianæ, Hiberniæ insulæ intrare . . . sibi et Dei cultui subjugare."

[2] *Gest. Abb. S. Alb.*, i. 128, R. S.

[3] Ep. of April 25, 1156, ap. Loewenfeld, *Epp. RR. PP.*, p. 124.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 246 ff.

[5] On John's official relations with Theobald, see Wright, *Biographia Britannica* (Anglo-Norman period), p. 233, Lond., 1846. About 1150 John "returned to England, and resided mainly at the court of Canter-

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laid upon him the care of all the ecclesiastics. The death of the Pope especially distressed him; for, affirms John, "he declared in public as well as in private that he had a greater affection for me than for any other person in the world. He had formed such an opinion of me that he was delighted to open his heart and conscience to me, as often as opportunity offered. Though Roman pontiff, he was pleased to have me as guest at his table; and, in spite of my reluctance, he required that one plate and one cup should be in common between us. At my request he ceded and bestowed Ireland upon the illustrious king of England, Henry II., to be possessed by hereditary right, as his letters prove to this day.[1] For all islands, in virtue of a very ancient law, are considered to belong to the Roman Church, through a donation of Constantine, who founded and endowed this Church.[2] Moreover, Pope Hadrian sent by me (*per me transmisit*) a gold ring, adorned with a most beautiful emerald,[3] by which investiture with the right of governing Ireland should be made;

bury, engaged on secretarial and diplomatic work," writes *The Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, i. 185, Cambridge, 1907. How extensive were the diplomatic undertakings of John may be gathered from his own words at the beginning of the third book of his *Metalogicus*. He crossed the Alps ten times from England, traversed Apulia twice, very often (*sæpius*) transacted the business of his masters and friends at the court of Rome, and had very frequently to travel through England and France on business (*emergentibus variis causis*).

[1] "Ad preces meas illustri regi Anglorum Henrico II. concessit et dedit Hiberniam jure hereditario possidendam, sicut littere ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem." *Metal.*, c. 42.

[2] So had already declared Urban II.; *cf.* his epp. 50 and 51 (June 3 and 28, 1091), ap. *P. L.*, t. 150.

[3] *Cf.* Giraldus, *l.c.* It is curious that when Hadrian's tomb was opened, an emerald ring was found on his finger. *Cf. supra*, p. 313. Hergenröther, *Catholic Church and Christian State*, vol. ii., Essay xii., pt. i., when treating of this *bull* "Laudabiliter" proves that rings were not uncommonly sent under similar circumstances.

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and this ring is still preserved by order in the public treasury."[1]

It is, then, quite impossible to doubt that Hadrian made a feudal grant of Ireland to Henry; *i.e.*, he made over that island to the English king to be held as a fief under his suzerainty. No use was, however, made of the papal concession at the time, owing, it may be presumed, either to the continued opposition of the empress-mother, or to Henry's wish to get absolute possession of Ireland, and not to hold it as a mere vassal; or, what is perhaps still more likely, to the difficulties in which he was soon involved with his brother Geoffrey, and with Louis VII. of France concerning his Continental possessions.

Is the grant of Hadrian still extant?

While, then, it may be stated as certain that Henry received from Hadrian a concession regarding Ireland, there yet remains to inquire whether the grant itself has been preserved. It would seem that it has. About the year 1188 Giraldus Cambrensis[2] wrote his *Conquest of*

[1] *Metal.*, c. 42. Thurston's translation of this passage is here used. "Anulum quoque per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in regenda Hibernia. Idemque adhuc anulus in cimiliarchio publico jussus est custodiri." Efforts have been made to prove this chapter an interpolation. But its style is that of John, full of quotations from Scripture and the classics, and it closes with a prayer like the *Polycraticus*, the *Futheticus*, and the *Life of St. Anselm*. Moreover, the political situation is accurately described in the said chapter, and finally, the title of chapter 42 prefixed to the book is peculiarly appropriate as the chapter now stands; "Quod visibilia argumenta mundum vanitati subjectum esse convincunt et quæ causa fuerit hic finiendi librum." And, writes Thurston, p. 423, "the heading of this last chapter appears in its proper place in the table of contents, as I have satisfied myself by an inspection of the two copies at the British Museum, one a MS. of the twelfth, the other of the thirteenth, century." Besides, Liebermann found that none of the MSS. of the *Metalogicus* which he examined "omit or curtail the disputed chapter, or show any sign of being tampered with." *Ib.*, p. 422. *Cf.* p. 483 n.

[2] Otherwise known as Gerald the Welshman, or Gerald Barry. See *G. the W.*, by Dr. H. Owen, London, 1904, and *Gérold le Gallois*, by A. Joly, ap. *Mémoires de l'Académie*, 1887 ff. It may be noted that

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Ireland (*Expugnatio Hibernica*), and in this work, after telling us that Henry had obtained a privilege relating to Ireland from Hadrian through John of Salisbury, he proceeds to quote the following letter:—

"Hadrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most dear Son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, greeting and the Apostolical Benediction. Hadrian's letter.

"The thoughts of your Highness are laudably and profitably directed to the greater glory of your name on earth, and to the increase of the reward of eternal happiness in heaven, when as a Catholic Prince you propose to yourself to extend the borders of the Church, to announce the truths of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to root out the weeds of wickedness from the field of the Lord; and the more effectually to accomplish this, you implore the counsel and favour of the Holy See. In which matter we feel that the more discreet your proceedings, the happier with God's aid will be the result; because those undertakings which proceed from the ardour of faith and the love of religion are sure always to have a prosperous end and issue.

"It is beyond all doubt, as your highness also doth acknowledge, that Ireland, and all the islands upon which the Christ the Sun of Justice has shone, and which have received the knowledge of Christian faith, are subject to St. Peter and to the most holy Roman Church. Wherefore we are the more desirous to sow in them an acceptable seed and a plantation pleasing to God, as we see the more clearly, after close reflection, that this is required of us.[1]

"Now, most dear Son in Christ, you have signified to us

Orpen, one of the latest students of the history of Ireland of this period, regards him as having "faithfully recorded what he said and heard"—allowance being made for certain obvious prepossessions.

[1] In the latter half of this sentence we give a different translation to that of Cardinal Moran, whose version of this bull, as given by

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that you propose to enter the island of Ireland to establish the observance of law among its people, and to eradicate the weeds of vice; and that you are willing to pay from every house one penny (*denarius*) as an annual tribute to St. Peter,[1] and to preserve the rights of the churches of the land whole and inviolate. We, therefore, receiving with due favour your pious and laudable desires, and graciously granting our consent to your petition, declare that it is pleasing and acceptable to us, that for the purpose of enlarging the limits of the Church, setting bounds to the torrent of vice, reforming evil manners, planting the seeds of virtue, and increasing Christian faith, you should enter that island and carry into effect those things which belong to the service of God and to the salvation of that people and that the people of that land should honourably receive and reverence you as Lord: the rights of the churches being preserved, untouched, and entire, and reserving the annual tribute of one penny from every house to St. Peter, and the most holy Roman Church.

"If therefore you resolve to carry these designs into execution, let it be your study to form that people to good morals, and take such orders both by yourself and by those

M'Loughlin, *Adrian IV.*, p. 174, we have here adopted. The Latin original is printed in the appendix from the R. S. edition of Giraldus (v. 317) by Dimock, who notes (*ib.*, p. 316 n.): "It (the letter) is most indisputably genuine; and so now allowed by Irish scholars." We have also there printed, after Whitley Stokes (*English Hist. Rev.*, vol. xx., Jan. 1905, p. 77 ff.), from a fifteenth-century MS. of an Irish abridgment of the *Expugnatio*, what relates to the *bulls* of Hadrian and Alexander III. Dr. Stokes considers (p. 77) that the abridgment tends to prove that in the fourteenth or fifteenth century the Celtic Irish recognised the general fairness and truth of the *Expugnatio*.

[1] Seeing that Hadrian, when legate in Scandinavia, "seems certainly to have first introduced the payment of Peter's Pence into Sweden, where it was unknown before, and probably into Norway as well," it is admitted that "the reference to Peter's Pence is very true to what we know of Pope Adrian's financial policy." Thurston, *Month*, p. 490.

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whom you shall find qualified in faith, in words, and in conduct, that the Church there may be adorned, and the practices of Christian faith be planted and increased; and let all that tends to the glory of God and the salvation of souls be so ordered by you, that you may deserve to obtain from God an increase of everlasting reward, and may secure on earth a glorious name throughout all time. Given at Rome," etc.

This document, published by Giraldus in *three* of his works, is also found in Ralph de Diceto's *Ymagines Historiarum*, which was compiled before 1199, and, as Ralph cannot be shown to have borrowed from Giraldus on any other occasion, it is probable that he did not copy from him on this one.[1] Roger of Wendover also gives the *bull*, apparently from some source independent of Giraldus, and Cardinal Baronius drew it from an ancient Vatican codex.[2] Further, what is much more important, the text of *Laudabiliter* appears in the Book of Leinster, which was "almost certainly" drawn up during the lifetime of Dermot MacMurrogh (†1171), and "probably" by Dermot's old tutor Aedh M'Crimthainn.[3] So rapid and widespread a

[1] *Cf.* Stubbs' ed. of Ralph, i. 300, and ii., pp. xvii to xix, and p. xxx ff. R. S.

[2] See Thurston, *Month*, *l.c.*, p. 486 ff., for various arguments to show that neither Ralph nor Wendover nor Baronius was dependent on Giraldus for the *bull*.

[3] So says A. O'Clery in his article on "Adrian IV." in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, i. 158 (New York). It would appear that the *bull* when published was not unacceptable to those of the Irish at least who longed for a little peace; for, according to the writer we are quoting, "to the text of the bull are affixed the following headings: 'Ah! men of the faith of the world, how beautiful (so far Gaelic) when over the cold sea in ships Zephyrus wafts glad tidings (Latin). A bull granted to the king of the English on the collation (*i.e.*, grant) of Hibernia, in which nothing is derogated from the rights of the Irish, as appears by the words of the text,'" in Latin also. *Cf.* O'Clery's (Ua Clerigh) book, *The History of Ireland*, i. p. 380 ff., London.

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diffusion of the *Laudabiliter* letter quite precludes the idea of its having been a mere scholastic exercise[1] or forgery of any kind.

What influenced Hadrian to sanction Henry's invasion of Ireland.

Hadrian was undoubtedly moved to entrust Ireland to the Normans because he saw on the one hand the wretched condition of the country, and on the other what good the Normans had effected in south Italy and in England. He was, indeed, perfectly alive to their defects, but he had seen some kind of ecclesiastical and civil order developed by them out of the miserable chaos of southern Italy, and he had seen the English Church quite revivified by the action of such Normans as Lanfranc and Anselm. Both England and Ireland had been dragged down to the lowest depths by the ravages of the Norsemen. The Normans, descendants of these very destroyers, had put new life into the English Church, and Hadrian hoped that they would

[1] Those who contend that it was a mere student's exercise, point out that it was clearly modelled on the authentic letter of Hadrian to Louis VII. of France, forbidding him to lead an armed expedition into Spain unless invited by its people and rulers (ep. 241). But it is quite a general rule that papal letters on similar subjects are to a very large extent drawn up on similar lines, and employ to a considerable extent the same words. The similarity, then, of the two documents tells therefore also for the authenticity of *Laudabiliter*. But, we may add with the Rev. G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 45 f., "suppose Adrian did not issue this bull, and that Giraldus and all the historians of the period conspired to foist a forgery on the public. Still (the opponents of the bull) are in no better case. Pope after Pope, legate after legate, even during Henry II.'s reign, solemnly proclaimed the papal sanction of the Norman Conquest. Alexander III. confirmed Henry's action. The Papal legate Vivianus renewed the confirmation at a public synod in 1177. Numerous bulls, extant with ourselves, in Alan's *Register*, the *Crede Mihi*, the *Liber Albus* and *Liber Niger* of Christ Church, and in the documents published by the Vatican itself some twenty years ago, proclaim the same thing." The documents here referred to are letters of Honorius III. (p. 2) and Innocent III. (nos. 136, 137) in Theiner, *Vet. monument. Hibernorum*, Rome, 1864. The *Crede Mihi* is a thirteenth-century collection of documents, and the *Liber Niger* of Archbishop Alan belongs to the year 1530.

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do as much for the Irish Church, which was even in a worse condition than the English Church had been. The causes of degradation had been at work for a hundred years longer in Ireland than in England. The victory of Brian Boru, which had crushed the power of the Norsemen, had not brought unity to the Irish themselves. Their internal dissensions after the death of Brian had proved as fatal to Ireland's prosperity as the swords of the Danes. When Hadrian became Pope its civil and ecclesiastical condition was still appalling, and had been made well known to Rome by St. Malachy.[1] It was therefore in the hope that the Normans would do for Ireland what they had done for England that Hadrian authorised their going thither, on condition that they should work for its improvement. That his intentions were not fulfilled does not render them less estimable, or show that he was not justified in forming them.[2]

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 92 ff. For our knowledge of the sad state of morality in Ireland at this time we are not dependent simply on the statements of Giraldus (*Topog. Hibern.*, dist. iii., c. 19 (al. 14) ff., etc.), but on those of St. Malachy, of Alexander III. in letters to be quoted hereafter, and of even a Norse writer of this age, who got his information from the oral communication of his friends who had frequently visited Ireland. In his work entitled *Konungs Skuggsiá* or *Speculum regale* he writes that the Irish nation "quæ hanc terram incolit et ferox sit, crudelis et male feriata" (p. 89). He also mentions the civil wars which ruined the country. *Cf.* the ed. of H. Einarsen with Danish and Latin translation, Soroe, 1768. The famous Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, afterwards cardinal-bishop of Albano, writing to Pope Alexander III. (ep. 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 218), speaks of the grand work of the legate bishop Christian "in insula Hiberniæ . . . in populo illo barbaro et gente novissima," and begs of the Pope to consecrate a successor to him, "timentes utique illi barbaræ nationi, ne facile in eis naturalis feritas recrudescat." The Annals of the Four Masters show the terrible havoc which the civil wars wrought in Ireland during the pontificate of Hadrian. See Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, Lecture I.; and his *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 108, n. 2.

[2] On these points see the excellent paper of Cardinal Newman ("Northmen and Normans in England and Ireland") in the first vol.

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Henry does at length invade Ireland.

But, as a matter of fact, Henry did not undertake to subdue Ireland on the strength of Hadrian's privilege, which soon became valueless by the death of its donor. When he did invade Ireland it was not because he had papal sanction to endeavour to improve its moral and political condition, but because circumstances forced his hand. In 1168 he had permitted Dermot MacMurrough, one of the many kings in Ireland, to enlist some of his barons to help him to recover the throne from which he had been driven.

Henry crosses over to Ireland, 1171.

Three years later (1171), jealous of the success which had attended the expedition of his vassals, and perhaps because he wished to avoid the legates whom Pope Alexander III. had despatched to England to examine into the murder of St. Thomas Becket, Henry crossed over to Ireland (October).[1] In a very short time he had received the homage of most of the chief men in the country,[2] and on November 6 he received the submission of the Irish

of his *Historical Sketches*, London, 1872. He points out with strict justice that the serious evils of the English annexation did not begin "till the English monarchy was false to the Pope as well as to Ireland" (p. 262). "It is Protestantism which has been the tyrannical oppressor of the Irish. . . . The Tudor, not the Plantagenet, introduced the iron age of Ireland." *Ib.*

[1] "Henricus rex Anglie ultra se elatus, inconcessa captans et affectans indebita, regnum Hybernie subjugaturus, *et regium diadema*, ut putabat, capiti suo impositurus naves parat," etc. *Chron. Sigebert. contin. Aquicinctina*, an. 1172, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160.

[2] Giraldus, *Expug.*, i. 31–33; *Gesta Henrici*, an. 1171, ap. R. S., i. 25. The *Gesta* (1170 to the spring of 1192) is a most valuable record, on a level with the contemporary portions of Florence of Worcester or Simeon of Durham. Its author is unknown; but at one time it was erroneously attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, because that abbot had caused a portion of it to be transcribed. Stubbs, in his invaluable preface to the *Gesta*, suggests that it may *possibly* be the work of Richard Fitz-Neal, treasurer of Henry II., afterwards bishop of London, and author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*. It is now, however, agreed that it certainly was not his work.

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The Loggia of the Palazzo Rufolo at Ravello.

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bishops and abbots at a council held at Cashel, presided over by Christian, bishop of Lismore, the papal legate. Various disciplinary canons were published by this synod which might have been productive of much good if Henry had remained long enough in the country to bring about order.[1] But in about six months (April 1172) he left it to meet the Pope's legates in Normandy.

He obtains privileges from Alexander III., 1172.

Meanwhile he despatched to Rome, by the hands of Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff (the very man whom he had sent to hold the council of Cashel with the Irish bishops),[2] the formal documents in which the Irish episcopate had recognised him and his heirs as kings of Ireland.[3] Informed of the state of Ireland by the letters of the Irish bishops, and by the king's envoys and by "common report," Alexander complied to some extent with the wishes of Henry, and sent him various privileges (September 20, 1172).

He sends them to Ireland, 1172-73.

The king at once sent these documents to Ireland by the hands of William Fitz-Audelin, his *Dapifer* (standard-bearer), who had been frequently employed by him on diplomatic missions in that country.[4] Arrived in Ireland,

[1] Giraldus, *ib.*, 34, 35; *Gesta*, *ib.*, p. 28. [2] *Gesta*, i. p. 28.

[3] *Ib.* "Rex Angliæ misit nuncios suos ad Alexandrum . . . cum litteris archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hyberniæ ad confirmandum sibi et heredibus suis regnum Hyberniæ." *Cf. ib.*, i. 26, and Giraldus, *Expug.*, ii. 5. "Anglorum rex . . . cum prænotatis spurcitiarum literis in synodo Cassiliensi per industriam quæsitis, directis ad curiam Romanam nunciis, ab Alexandro . . . privilegium impetravit," etc. *Cf.* epp. 1002, 3, 4 of Alex. III., dated Tusculum, Sept. 20, 1172. It is the first of these letters which tells us that Ralph was one of the king's envoys.

[4] *Cf.* Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of Henry II.*, p. 160 ff., London, 1878. *Cf.* Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 516-18, and *The Commune of London*, p. 151 f. It is Giraldus, *l.c.*, ap. v. 315, R. S., who says that one of the bearers of the Pope's letters to Ireland was William Fitz-Audelin, and his assertion is supported in an entry on the *Pipe Roll* of 1173 giving the expenses of William's journey: "In passagio Willelmi filii Aldelini et sociorum suorum et hernesiorum suorum in

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the envoys laid before the Irish hierarchy both Alexander's letters and the letter of Hadrian, which they had taken from the archives of Winchester, where it had remained so long unused.[1] The bishops received the documents at the council of Waterford (1173), and signified their assent to them.[2]

The synod of Waterford, 1173.

With the letter of Hadrian the reader is already familiar, it remains, therefore, only to speak of the privileges granted by Pope Alexander. Henry brought the letters of both pontiffs before the Irish clergy to show that one of them had authorised the commencement of his undertaking, and that the other had approved of what he had already accomplished. Now, on the subject of the relations of Henry II. to Ireland, we have four letters of Alexander III. Of these, three, found originally in the so-called *Liber niger Scaccarii* (Black Book of the Exchequer), which was published by Hearne,[3] are all dated from Tusculum,

Hyberniam xxvii sol. et vi den. per breve Ricardi de Luci" (p. 145), quoted by Round, *The Commune of London*, p. 182. On the date (1173) of William's embassy and of the council of Waterford, *cf. ib.*, p. 181 ff. Furthermore, Orpen notes that a letter (ap. Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 36) generally referred to the year 1181 is really a letter of credence given to W. Fitz-Audelin at this time (1173). In it the king commends to all Ireland "Willielmum, filium Adelmi," to whom he has entrusted his business.

[1] Hence Giraldus, *Expug.*, ii. 6 (v. 320), gives as one of the five rights which, according to him, the English kings had to Ireland: "Summorum pontificum, qui insulas omnes sibi speciali quodam jure respiciunt (vindicant) . . . confirmans accessit auctoritas." With this compare the statement made by Nicholas IV. in a dispensation granted by him on May 13, 1290, ap. Theiner, *Monumenta Hibernorum*, p. 151: "Henricus olim rex Anglorum de voluntate sedis ipsius armata manu terram predictam (Ireland) intravit, et eam ac habitatores ipsius ad ejusdem sedis obedientiam suaque (sic) pro posse reduxit," etc. See Round, *l.c.*, p. 199.

[2] Giraldus, *Expug.*, ii. 5 (v. 315-6, R. S.).

[3] London, 1771, i. p. 41 ff. From the *Liber Niger* the three letters passed into Rymer's *Fœdera*, and thence into *P. L.*, t. 200, p. 883 f., whence we quote them.

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September 20, 1172, and are accepted as genuine by all authorities of any standing.[1] The fourth begins "Quoniam ea," and is the one quoted by Giraldus[2] as having been read and accepted at the council of Waterford.

The three letters of Alexander.

The first of the three letters of Pope Alexander is addressed to Henry. It opens by congratulating him on his successes in Ireland, where the people have abandoned themselves to vice and to mutual destruction,[3] and thanking him for his efforts to lessen the evils he found there.[4] As penance for his sins he must persevere in his laudable beginnings for the good of the country,[5] and must even extend the rights of the Roman Church in Ireland. The other two letters of September 20, 1172, are addressed to the kings and bishops of Ireland. The Pope is glad to hear that they have accepted Henry "as their King and Lord, because there will be greater peace and tranquillity" in Ireland, and he trusts that they will faithfully submit to him.

The letter "Quoniam ea."

The fourth letter confirms to Henry that title of King or

[1] *E.g.*, Jaffé, 12,162 (8174) ff.; Cardinal Moran, the chief impugner of *Laudabiliter*, etc.

[2] *Expug.*, ii. 5 (v. 318, R. S.); ap. Jaffé, 12,174. Giraldus also quotes this letter in his *De Instructione Principum*, p. 53 f., ed. London, 1846. In this latter place the letter is introduced as follows: "Secundi vero privilegii tenor hic; sicut a quibusdam impetratum asseritur aut configitur, ab aliis aut unquam impetratum fuisse negatur." This addition, notes the editor of Giraldus (v. 318 n., R. S.), "has much the air of a marginal note that had got incorporated in the text, but it may perhaps be of early date, if not Giraldus's own addition."

[3] "Quæ (the Irish people) divino timore postposito tanquam effrenis passim per abrupta deviat vitiorum, et Christianæ fidei religionem abjicit et virtutis, et se interimit mutuo cæde." Ep. 1002. Alexander says that Christian, bishop of Lismore, and the Irish bishops have told him of the vices of the people.

[4] "Ad exstirpandam tantæ abominationis spurcitiam" . . . "abjecta spurcitia peccatorum." *Ib.* *Cf.* these phrases with "eliminatis terræ illius spurcitiis" of the letter "Quoniam ea."

[5] Here we have reference to the murder of St. Thomas Becket (1171), and a suggestion of the bull *Laudabiliter*—"in eo quod *laudabiliter* incœpisti." *Ib.*

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Lord of Ireland which had been allowed him by Hadrian, and which its writer had already called upon the bishops and princes of Ireland to recognise. "Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, health and apostolical benediction.

"Since those things deserve to be established for ever which are recognised as granted with good reason by our predecessors, We, following in the footsteps of the venerable Pope Adrian, and earnestly anxious for the fruit of our desire,[1] do ratify and confirm the concession of the said Pope regarding the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland granted to you, saving to Blessed Peter and to the holy Roman Church, as well in England as in Ireland, the annual payment of one penny (*denarius*) from each house. So that the filthiness of that land being purged out, a barbarous nation, which is reckoned to bear the Christian name, may, by your diligence, put on the comeliness of sound morality, and the Church of those parts, hitherto unordered, being brought into some proper form, that race may henceforth through you effectively obtain the title of Christian."[2]

[1] Here we are following the reading in the *De Instruc. Princip.*, which gives *nostri* instead of the *vestri* in the R. S. ed. of Giraldus, *Expug.*, ii. 5.

[2] We accept this letter as authentic because its preamble is in complete accordance with genuine letters of the Popes, and because in substance and phraseology it is bound up with the other letters of Alexander, with *Laudabiliter*, and with the narrative of the *Gesta* and Giraldus, and because to reject it forces one to suppose a number of contemporaries engaged in plots to mislead posterity and in wholesale forgeries. If, on the contrary, *Laudabiliter* and *Quoniam ea* are regarded as authentic, if we suppose the narratives of the *Gesta* and Giraldus are substantially truthful, we find that letters and narratives are fundamentally in harmony both with themselves and with other documents which can check them. The text of *Quoniam ea* will be found in the Appendix.

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In leaving the thorny path of the Irish expedition of Henry, we may remark that, if the wishes of the Popes had been put into effect, Ireland would have had a different history. In that case its princes and bishops would have acknowledged the suzerainty of Henry, who would have introduced into Ireland the tranquillity which he established in England by the destruction of the castles which the barons had erected in England in the reign of Stephen. Then, with its people obedient to their native princes, who would have owed fealty to a suzerain capable of enforcing respect for law, Ireland would have attained, in the twelfth century, to that condition of things which earnest men are still endeavouring to bring about in the twentieth. We should have seen, in the twelfth century, Ireland enjoying local independence under a powerful and wealthy suzerain,[1] and with this additional advantage

[1] The medieval Irish themselves supposed that this was the state of things which the bull of Hadrian had in view. Donald O'Neill, king of Ulster, along with his nobles and people, writing to Pope John XXII. to protest against the cruel oppression practised by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland (1318), urges that it is these men who have prevented them from holding their lands directly from the king, *i.e.*, to use the feudal language of the time, from holding them *in capite*, as tenants in chief.

"Dovenaldus Oneyl, Rex Ultoniæ," as his name appears in the original document, reminds the Pope that since the days when Pope Celestine sent St. Patrick to Ireland, the kings of Ireland have remained "in humble obedience to the Roman Church." He urges that the English kings have not even observed the conditions of Hadrian's bull which gave them Ireland: "metas concessionis sibi factæ per bullam papalem *sub certis articulis* ex ipsa bulla serie evidenter apparet simpliciter sunt transgressi." Still, he assures the Pope that the Irish chiefs are ready to hold their lands directly from the king of England in accordance with the terms of the bull *Laudabiliter*, which they forward to him: "quod nostram terram, solum nobis de jure debitam, de ipso (King Edward) *immediate* teneremus omni absque renisu . . . juxta conditiones et articulos in bulla Adriani." To show how little regard had really been paid to Hadrian's bull, the king points out that Peter's Pence had never been collected from Ireland. In fine, he begs the Pope to see that the English do not maltreat them in future. The

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which it would not have if that were effected now: in the twelfth century the suzerain would himself have been subject to the monitor of Europe, to the Pope of Rome, then looked up to as the supreme judge of kings and nations. But Henry did not accomplish what was expected of him by Hadrian IV. and Alexander III. He did not set up a government in Ireland strong enough to compel both the Irish chieftain and the Anglo-Norman baron to keep the king's peace, and to bow to the supremacy of the law. Some, indeed, think that he only made confusion worse confounded; but to such attention may be drawn to certain conclusions of Mr. Orpen. He has, he writes,[1] "been led to regard the domination of the English Crown and of its ministers in Ireland during the thirteenth century, and indeed up to the invasion of Edward Bruce in the year 1315, as having been much more complete than has been generally recognised, and to think that due credit has not been given to the new rulers for creating the comparative peace and order and the manifest progress and prosperity that Ireland enjoyed during that period, wherever their rule was effective."

Various undertakings of Hadrian. i. The Templars.

With reluctance must we bring this biography to a close, just alluding to Hadrian's support of the Templars.[2] For this he was blamed by his candid critic, John of Salisbury. In reviewing the state of the religious orders of his day, Pope Hadrian, says John, found that the extensive papal privileges which they had received were being largely used to gratify avarice. He, accordingly,

king's letter, which is very long, even in the form in which it has come down to us, is to be found in John of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, xii. 26, vol. ii. p. 295 ff. of the fine folio edition of W. Goodall, Edinburgh, 1775. A full analysis of this important document is given by O'Clery (Ua Clerigh) in his *Hist. of Ireland*, i. 408 f.

[1] *Ireland*, i., preface, p. 7.

[2] Epp. 40–41. 147; and Jaffé, 10,330 ff.

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at first wished to recall them all, but, as that would have been impolitic and unjust, he decided to limit them. He hence decreed that the freedom from taxation often claimed by the religious orders should only extend to *novalia*, *i.e.*, to fallow-land which they had themselves brought under cultivation.[1] By this regulation, adds John, they could enjoy their privileges without grave injury to the rights of others. John, however, proceeds to express his profound astonishment that "so great a Father" continued to allow the Templars to hold benefices with the cure of souls. For although the knights did not themselves undertake the cure of souls, the severe critic seemed to think that it was opposed to the canons that the Blood of Christ should be administered even by deputy by those whose profession it was to shed the blood of men.

ii. The Hospitallers.

Though neither the Templars nor the Hospitallers were without their faults, Hadrian was, not unnaturally, well disposed to both these Orders. They were the mainstay of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. They formed its regular army.

The only event connected with the life of Hadrian which William of Tyre narrates at any length is concerned with the Hospitallers; and, in what he has to tell us about it, we must not forget that the archiepiscopal historian looked at the episode from the point of view of a bishop. He complains of the insubordination of the Hospitallers towards bishops, and says that its cause, perhaps its innocent cause, was the Roman Church when it freed them from episcopal control.[2]

[1] *Polycraticus*, l. vii. c. 21. "Licentiam eorum (the privileges) hac moderatione compescuit, ut quæ de laboribus usurpant, circa *novalia* duntaxat interpretantur."

[2] *Hist.*, xviii. 3, 6.

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On the occasion of a dispute concerning tithes between the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Hospitallers, the latter, *according to William*, prevented him from preaching to the people not merely by the continued ringing of bells, but even by firing volleys of arrows into the church.[1] Unable to obtain redress from the superiors of the Knights, the Patriarch with some of his suffragans went to Italy. They had, however, great difficulty in meeting Hadrian, as "some said" (*dicebant quidam*) he purposely avoided them because, "it was said" (*dicebatur*), the Hospitallers had bribed him.[2] At length they obtained a hearing from Hadrian at Ferentino (September 1155). But the case was given against them both by the Pope and by the whole body of the cardinals, with the exception of two, one of whom was the subsequent antipope Octavian,[3] and the other, the lord John of S. Martino, who had formerly been the Patriarch's archdeacon. It is the same William who furnishes us with these particulars who has the hardihood to tell us that all the other cardinals were on the look-out for bribes.[4]

iii. Gerhoh of Reichersberg.

And now, passing over the English Pope's advocacy of the rights of the Genoese in the kingdom of Jerusalem,[5] and of the primacy of Toledo,[6] we will but pause to note that he did not show as much favour as his predecessors[7] to the famous Gerhoh of Reichersberg. Though Gerhoh

[1] Tyre, *ib.*, c. 3.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 7. It is the usual story. The party that lost the case always *heard* that the Pope had been bribed by their opponents.

[3] For the character of Octavian, see the *life* of Alexander III.

[4] *Ib.*, c. 8.

[5] Ep. 75, Jaffé, 10,107 ff., and the letter of the Genoese, ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1644.

[6] Epp. 80, 83, 86.

[7] See ep. 31 of Celestine II., ap. *P. L.*, t. 179; and ep. 85 of Lucius II., ap. *ib.*; and ep. 111 of Eugenius III., ap. *ib.*; Jaffé, 8576, 7.

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dedicated a treatise to him[1] in which he called upon him to show that the zeal of his predecessors was astir in him,[2] and though he even declared that Hadrian was so animated by the spirit of the apostle Peter, nay, of Christ Himself, as to love and support those whom he knew to be good, and to be contending for the law of God,[3] still he had sorrowfully to confess that Hadrian knew him not,[4] and that consequently he had fallen into the hands of his enemies.[5] Gerhoh attributes the Pope's neglect of him to the difficulties and troubles which surrounded him.[6] But, though Gerhoh was careful to state that he wished never to differ from the Roman Church in matters of faith,[7] a wise churchman like Hadrian may readily have regarded it as the soundest policy not to give any attention to the questions to which so bold a theoriser as Gerhoh wished to wring (*extorquere*) answers from him.[8] Practical problems had a greater charm for Hadrian than brilliant schemes of reform, no matter how useful or even necessary, which were impractical at the moment.

We cannot do better, in bringing to a close our *Life* of Hadrian IV., than quote the words with which one of his modern English admirers and biographers con-

[1] *Liber de novitatibus hujus temporis*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. It begins: "Ad te Romane pontifex Adriane, patrem et dominum meum loquar . . . ausu loquendi non temerario, sed, ut arbitror, necessario."

[2] *Ib.*, c. 3.

[3] *Comment. in Psalm LXV.*, ap. *ib.*, p. 493.

[4] Still we find Hadrian confirming the privileges of the monastery of Reichersberg at his request. Jaffé, 10,581, August 1159.

[5] *Comment. in Psalm CXXXIII.*, p. 502.

[6] *Opusc. de Gloria Filii Hominis*, p. 397.

[7] "Nunquam in doctrina fidei a S. R. E. dissentire volo." *Ib.*

[8] "Romanis autem pontificibus Anastasio et Adriano licet nonnulla scripserim, nullum potui responsum ad questiones meas extorquere." *Ib.*

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cludes the preface to his *Life* of the same Pope: "If it is good for us to study the lives of those who, by unsullied careers, have added lustre to their native country, and to revere their names, we Englishmen can surely spare some of our admiration for Nicholas Breakspear."[1]

[1] Tarleton, p. vii.

Leaden Bulla of Hadrian IV.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

(See p. 9 n.)

THE NAMES OF THOSE WHO WERE CERTAINLY CARDINALS ON THE DAY OF THE DOUBLE ELECTION OF INNOCENT II. AND ANACLETUS II.

I. The cardinals who adhered to Innocent II. (formerly *Gregory, cardinal-deacon of St. Angelo*) :—

Cardinal-bishops: *William of Præneste*, Matthew of Albano, John of Ostia, and *Conrad of Sabina*.[1]

Cardinal-priests: *Peter of St. Martin*[2] (*SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti*), John Crema of St. Crisogono, Hubert of St. Clement, Anselm of St. Lawrence in Lucina, Gozelinus or Jozelinus of St. Cecily, Gerard of S. Croce, and Peter of St. Anastasia.

Cardinal-deacons: Romanus of S. Maria in Portico, Gregory of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, *Haimeric* (*Aymericus*), *of S. Maria Nuova, chancellor of the Apostolic See*, Albert of St. Theodore, Guido of S. Maria in Via Lata.

II. The cardinals who supported Anacletus II. (formerly *Pierleone of S. Maria in Trastevere tituli Calixti*) :—

Cardinal-bishops: Petrus Senex of Porto, Giles (Gilo or Ægidius) of Frascati.

[1] The names of the eight who were elected to choose a Pope are printed in italics.

[2] This no doubt is the Peter Rufus who was one of the chosen eight. He was formerly cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and in documents of the year 1130 is no doubt the one who signs himself "tituli Equitii," which denotes the church of SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti.

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Cardinal-priests: Boniface of St. Mark, Gregory of the Holy Apostles, Amicus of SS. Nereus and Achilles, *Desiderius of St. Praxedes,[1] Saxo of St. Stephen in Cœlimontium, *Peter Pisanus of St. Susanna*, Peter of St. Marcellus, Sigizo of St. Sixtus, Crescentius of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, *Comes of St. Sabina, Gregory of St. Balbina, *Luitfridus of St. Vitalis, Matthew of S. Pietro in Vincoli (in Eudoxia), Henry of St. Prisca, Odericus of SS. John and Paul, Stephen of St. Lawrence in Damaso,[2] Peter of St. Eusebius.

Cardinal-deacons: Gregory of St. Eustachius, Angelus of S. Maria in Dominica, John Dauferius of St. Nicholas in carcere Tulliano,[3] *Jonathan of SS. Cosmas and Damian.*

APPENDIX II.

(See pp. 326 n., 331 n.)

THE FOURTEENTH- OR FIFTEENTH-CENTURY IRISH VERSION OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

65. Ro cuir in rí leitreacha le Nicolass prioir Ualingpurt & le Villiam Aldelmess, & ro cuir cairthi & peacaidh lochta na hErenn isin sgríbhinn docum Alaxandra inn papa, & do ſar ar an papa isna leitrib sin comus smachtaigthi bfer n-Erenn & a mban, & tuc an papa in t-udarass sin don righ maille re na priueleit fein. Do cruindighedh clſar Erenn co Port Lairge, & do léghadh na bulladha sin, & tuccadh cách umhla dóibh, ïtir cill & túaith.

66. IS é so cumair foirme na mbulladha sin. O'ttcualaidh in papa dar' comainm Andrian, slighe pecach nemhglan do bí ac

[1] The three cardinals marked thus * afterwards acknowledged Innocent. *Cf.* Boso *in vit. Inn., init.*

[2] At the time of the election of Anacletus he was only a cardinal-deacon of St. Lucy in Silice or in Orthea. According to Ciaconius, *Vitæ Pont. Rom.*, i. 499, ed. Rome, 1630, he also returned to the allegiance of Innocent.

[3] He was made cardinal-priest of St. Prudentiana (titulus Pastoris by Anacletus in 1130.

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popul na Erenn, & cur' meassa íad náid beathadaigh brúidemla, co robatar i n-agaidh Dé & na hEclaissi & an creitim cathoileaca, do óentaigh sé don ri techt a n-Erinn do smachtachadh na ndobés & do daingneachadh an reachta cóir, ardáigh comm-beith gach aén duine ac dénamh onóra do Día & tárbha da hanmain & maithisi dá chele a coitcinde, & co mbeith céall & túath ag foghnamh dá chele. Tuc sé mur tigernus dá cinn sin, & mur comartha air a hucht Dé & Petair, pinginn dó gacha bliadhna mar císs as gach tigh i n-Erinn, amal dobeirthas a Sasanaibh.

Translation.

65. The king sent letters to Alexander the Pope by Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, and by William Fitz Aldelm, and in the writing detailed the offences and sins of the people of Ireland; and he asked the Pope in those letters for power to control the men of Ireland and their wives. The Pope gave the king that authority, together with his own privilege. The clergy of Ireland were gathered to Waterford, and those bulls were read, and everyone, both churchmen and laymen, was yielding obedience to them.

66. This is, in short, the tenor of those bulls. When the Pope, whose name was Adrian, heard of the sinful and impure ways of the people of Ireland, and that they were worse than brutish animals, and that they were opposed to God and the Church and the Catholic faith, he consented that the king should go into Ireland to control the vices and to strengthen the right law, so that everyone might be doing honour to God, and profiting his soul, and benefiting each other in common, and that Church and folk might be serving one another.

On account of that, and as a token of dominion, he [the king], at the instigation of God and St. Peter, gave him [the Pope] a penny each year as tribute from every house in Ireland, even as was given in England.

THE BULL OF HADRIAN IV.

Adrianus episcopus, servus servorum. Dei, carissimo in Christo filio illustri Anglorum regi salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Laudabiliter satis et fructuose, de glorioso nomine propagando in

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terris, et æternæ felicitatis præmio cumulando in cœlis, tua magnificentia cogitat; dum ad dilatandos ecclesiæ terminos ad declarandam indoctis et rudibus populis Christianæ fidei veritatem, et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico exstirpanda, sicut catholicus princeps intendis; et ad id convenientius exequendum, consilium apostolicæ sedis exigis et favorem. In quo facto, quanto altiori consilio et majori discretione procedis, tanto in eo feliciorem progressum te, præstante Domino, confidimus habiturum; eo quod ad bonum exitum semper et finem soleant attingere, quæ de ardore fidei, et religionis amore, principium acceperunt. Sane Hiberniam, et omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere. Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem et germen gratum Deo inserimus, quanto id a nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus exigendum. Significasti siquidem nobis, fili in Christo carissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde exstirpanda, velle intrare; et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem; et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra conservare. Nos itaque, pium et laudabile desiderium tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ benignum impendentes assensum, gratum et acceptum habemus, ut pro dilatandis ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum restringendo decursu pro corrigendis moribus et virtutibus inserendis, pro Christianæ religionis augmento, insulam illam ingrediaris et quæ ad honorem Dei et salutem illius terræ spectaverint exequaris, et illius terræ populus honorifice te recipiat et sicut dominum veneretur. Jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente, et salva beato Petro, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione. Si ergo quod concepisti animo, effectu duxeris prosequente complendum, stude gentem illam bonis moribus informare: et agas tam per te, quam per illos quos ad hoc fide, verbo, et vita, idoneos esse prospexeris, ut decoretur ibi ecclesia, plantetur et crescat fidei Christianæ religio, et quæ ad honorem Dei et salutem pertinent animarum [per te] taliter ordinentur ut a Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi merearis, et in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in seculis obtinere.

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THE BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III.

Secundi vero privilegii tenor hic: "Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Quonian ea, quæ a decessoribus nostris rationabiliter indulta noscuntur, perpetua merentur stabilitate firmari, venerabilis Adriani papæ vestigiis inhærentes vestrique desiderii fructum attendentes, concessionem ejusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto, salva beato Petro et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, sicut in Anglia sic et in Hibernia, de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione, ratam habemus et confirmamus: quatinus, eliminatis terræ illius spurcitiis, barbara natio, quæ Christiano censetur nomine, vestra diligentia morum induat venustatem et redacta in formam hactenus informi finium illorum ecclesia, gens ea per vos Christianæ professionis nomen cum effectu de cetero consequatur."

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